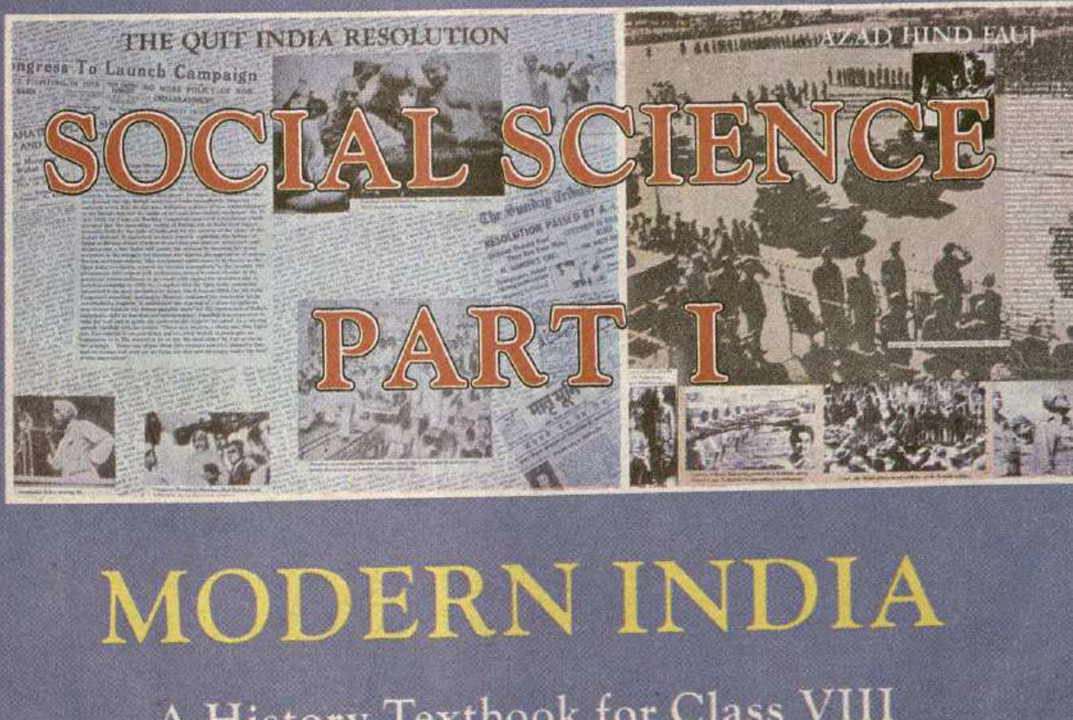
RISE OF IMPERIALISM
WORLD OUTLOOK OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT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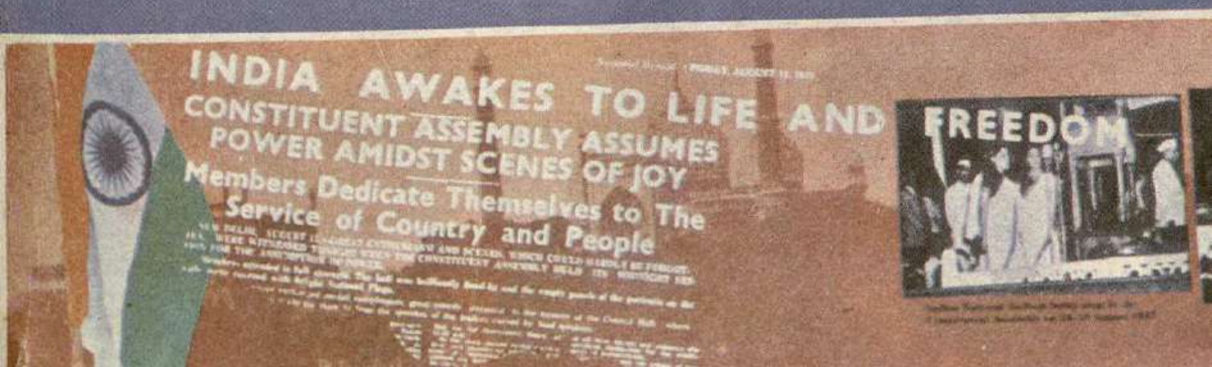
SOCIAL SCIENCE

PART I

MODERN INDIA

A History Textbook for Class VIII


INDIA AWAKES TO LIFE AND FREEDOM
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ASSUMES POWER AMIDST SCENES OF JOY
Members Dedicate Themselves to The Service of Country and People

S.C.E.R.T., W.B.
N.C.F, 2005

Text book
Code no. 026

SOCIAL SCIENCE

PART I

MODERN INDIA

Textbook in History for Class VIII

Arjun Dev
Indira Arjun Dev

Library
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This textbook is based on the National Curriculum Framework for School Education – 2000 and the syllabi prepared in accordance with it. However, in view of the recommendation of the panel of historians constituted by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, the Executive Committee of the NCERT, in its meeting held on 19 July 2004, decided that, from the academic session 2005–06, the pre-2000 books of history will be restored with appropriate modifications in line with the existing curriculum. It was also decided that the textbooks of all other subjects will undergo a quick review for bringing necessary changes, wherever required. In pursuance of this decision, the earlier history textbook *Modern India* has been restored with some modifications. Unit I of the revised social science syllabus is covered by the present textbook *Social Science : Part I*. We hope that this revised edition will serve as an effective medium of teaching and learning. We look forward to your suggestions to enable us to further improve the quality of this book.

SECRETARY
National Council of Educational
Research and Training

New Delhi
January 2005

CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

Preamble

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a **SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC** and to secure to all its citizen:

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do **HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.**

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CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

Part IV A (Article 51 A)

Fundamental Duties

Fundamental Duties – It shall be the duty of every citizen of India —

(a) to abide by the Constitution and respect its ideals and institutions, the National Flag and the National Anthem;

(b) to cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom;

(c) to uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India;

(d) to defend the country and render national service when called upon to do so;

(e) to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities; to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women;

(f) to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture;

(g) to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers, wildlife and to have compassion for living creatures;

(h) to develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform;

(i) to safeguard public property and to abjure violence;

(j) to strive towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity so that the nation constantly rises to higher levels of endeavour and achievement;

(k) who is a parent or guardian, to provide opportunities for education to his child or, as the case may be, ward between the age of six and fourteen years.

◆

CHAPTER ONE

India and the Modern World

IMAGINE a person who lived, say, in the seventeenth century, somehow coming back to life today. He would find himself in a world almost entirely different from the one he was familiar with in his own time. He may find a few of the buildings he was familiar with still standing, some in ruins and some intact. But he would find that almost everything else had changed beyond recognition. He would find many more cities and towns than there were in his time. He would find that the very nature of these cities was different from that of the ones he was familiar with. Even the landscape is different, because during his time, there were no factories, no metalled roads, not even the types of houses he would find now. On the roads there would be vehicles of various types he had never even imagined before. The sight of an aeroplane in the sky or a train on the rails would surprise him. In the shops, he would find things he had never seen before and it would take him some time to know the uses of some of these things. In villages, he would find that some new methods of cultivating the land have come into use. There may even be some crops that he had never seen before. He would also notice equally surprising changes in society, politics, culture, in fact, almost in everything. Even the language he would hear people speak would not be quite the same. Thus he would find himself in a very different world, different even from the world he might have imagined or dreamt of.

This book deals with some of the things that took place in the world, particularly in our own country, in the past two or three hundred years. They have so completely changed the world and India as well that it has become almost unrecognizable to our imaginary friend from the seventeenth century. You have already some knowledge of how people lived in the ancient and medieval times. You know that from the time of its very birth, the world has never stood still. It has been continuously changing as a result of the activities of man in cooperation with his fellowmen. Whether it is society, economy, political institutions or art and culture, almost everything has been undergoing changes. The changes that have taken place in the last few hundred years have been very fast. What are these changes that have made our times so different from the earlier times ? How and when did they begin and how did they proceed? To be able to understand these changes, we shall have to understand the history of the past two or three centuries.

How do we know the history of this period ? You have learnt before how the remains of the past – buildings and artefacts which archaeologists have discovered, or written records in the form of descriptions on stone or metal, or documents and books – have helped us to reconstruct the history of the ancient and medieval times. For the modern period, our sources of information are abundant. Very few of them have been completely destroyed. People also have taken great care to preserve many of these sources. Books, documents and records relating to the affairs of the government have been preserved in the archives and you can see them and read them. Other books written and printed in this period are also still extant in the libraries and even in some of our homes. Many of these books and records of various kinds are reprinted every year so that they become easily accessible to all those who may wish to read them. There are other things also that you can still see and 'read'. For example, the old and important buildings, and many of the machines, which had first begun to be used, say in the middle of the nineteenth century, and are either being preserved in the industrial museums or are still in use. Then there are men still alive who have helped to bring about some of the very important changes in our country in the recent times. Many people who fought against imperialism to make India free are still alive. We can ask them to tell us about our freedom movement. Thus there are many things that can tell us much about one or another aspect of the modern history of our country.

Why do we call our history from the eighteenth century as the history of modern India ? The history of India, as that of other countries, is usually divided into ancient, medieval and modern periods. This is done with a view to showing that the society, economy, politics and culture of each period are very different from those of the other periods. The new elements in one period become much more important to it than the older elements continuing from the preceding ones. You are familiar with some of the reasons why the history of medieval India is different from the history of ancient India. The differences between the medieval times and modern times in our history are even more basic. This is so because changes in the modern times have been faster and far reaching than ever before.

We, in this book, begin the history of modern India in the eighteenth century because many of the changes that are the characteristics of modern times can be said to have begun in this period. These changes first began in other parts of the world and came to us under conditions which were not of our choice, as our country had gone under foreign domination. However, the life of the people in our country has been deeply affected by these changes and we have to understand what changes took place, how they took place and why in the way they did.

You may remember how much divided our country had become in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. The administration was weak and people's life and property were insecure. The European merchants, then trading in different parts of India, took advantage of this situation and a group of them coming from England became the master of the land. For the next two hundred years, India remained in bondage which kept her backward, and delayed her becoming modern. The period of India's bondage, however, was also the period of the awakening of the Indian people. It was a period when they united to fight for their freedom. India became independent in 1947 and the people of India started the task of rebuilding their country as an independent nation.

Before we turn to the story of India's decline and recovery during this period, we shall state here, in brief, the main trends of changes that took place in the world. Many of the changes which have brought in the modern age first began in Europe.

Renaissance, Rise of Capitalism and the Industrial Revolution

Man's spirit of enquiry and adventure to know what he does not know has always guided him to go ahead. Fresh incentives to advance human knowledge and explore new lands came especially from a movement which first originated in some Italian towns in the late medieval period. This is known as the Renaissance, the story of which you have already been told. The Renaissance inspired many people in Europe to think for themselves and boldly question all established principles and institutions. This led to the growth of the scientific method, that is, learning by questioning, observation and experimentation. Modern scientific and technological discoveries are all based on the application of this method. The questioning spirit also provoked some Europeans to revolt against autocratic rulers and objectionable practices of the Roman Catholic Church based on blind faith. This attitude gradually spread to other parts of the world also as contacts were stablished with them through trade and other means.

During the later part of the medieval period, many towns prospered in Europe because of increase in trade. These towns were located either at the crossings of trade routes or on the sea and river side, places convenient for trade. The merchants, living in these towns, were naturally the most important section of the people there. Compared with the countryside, the towns were freer places where all kinds of new thinking and activities in art and literature were going on. The importance of this community gradually grew as the volume of trade increased and the merchants came to occupy high positions in society and government. Thus, a new group—the middle class—between the nobles and the common people came into being. The merchants were joined by skilled artisans and later on by the manufacturers, to increase the size and importance of the middle class. The period of the Renaissance was also a period of great voyages of discovery and exploration. The sailors and navigators of Europe discovered new sea routes to Asia. Many lands, so far unknown to the Europeans, were discovered. You have already read about the discovery of the new sea route to India by Vasco da Gama and the discovery of the Americas by Columbus. The discovery of new routes and lands led to a tremendous increase in trade by European traders. The Europeans also set up their trading posts and colonies. Many parts of the Americas were occupied by people from some countries of Europe.

All these developments led to the beginning of the end of feudalism in Europe. A new system of society, called Capitalism, began to take shape in its place. The main feature of this new system of society was the emergence of two new classes—the capitalists and the workers. The capitalists were the owners of factories and machines and the goods which were produced in the factories with the help of machines. Their main aim was to make profits. They also controlled the sale of goods. The workers produced the goods and received a wage from the capitalists.

How did the new system of society come about? The expansion of trade at home and abroad compelled the European businessmen to improve the system of production so that more goods could be produced quickly. The high demand of goods brought big changes in the methods of production. So far the artisans used to work at home with simple tools and were helped by the members of their families. They collected the necessary raw materials from the merchants and supplied them the finished goods. This "domestic system" could not meet the demands of the growing market for long. In the eighteenth century, it gave way to the "factory system". The factory owner invested money to collect raw materials in huge quantity, employed many artisans who could now work with the help of newly invented machines and sold the finished goods. The workers no longer worked at home but in a factory.

Under the new system the factory owner or the capitalist was the most powerful person in society in place of the feudal lords of earlier times. England was the first country to develop this system. The use of machines first began in England. The invention of spinning-jenny, a new kind of loom, and the steam-power greatly increased the production of cloth in England. This development—the production of goods with the help of machines in factories—is known as the Industrial Revolution. It started in England in the later part of the eighteenth century. In course of time, this Revolution affected the system of production everywhere. Further inventions like those of electricity, blast furnace, new devices of casting and rolling iron made the Industrial Revolution an even more powerful force than before. Capitalism the new system of society and the Industrial

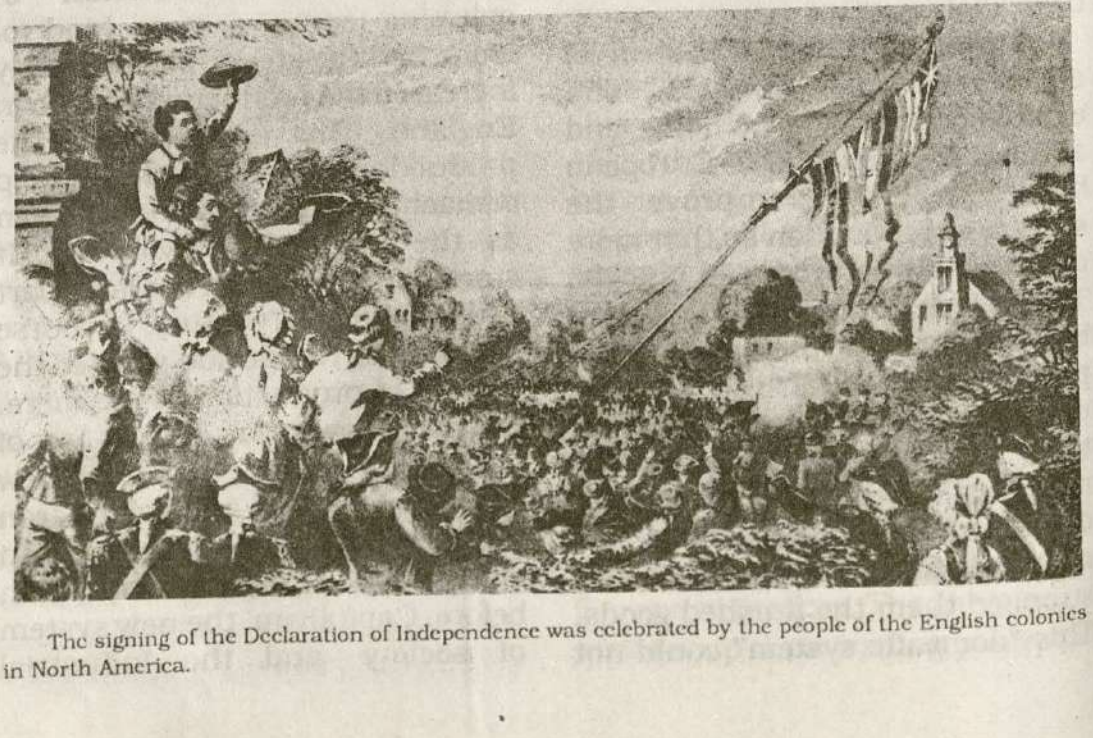
Revolution influenced the course of history of the entire world.

The American and French Revolutions

The later part of the eighteenth century saw two more revolutions which played an important role in the making of the modern world. These are the War of American Independence and the French Revolution.

The first one involved the English government against its thirteen colonies in North America. Most of the people settled in these colonies had come from England. But they were not given the rights which Englishmen living in England enjoyed. The settlers in the English colonies of North America were under the rule of the mother country England, which used to collect taxes from the settlers. As the taxes went high and many kinds of restrictions on business and administration were imposed by the English government, the colonies started protesting. There were uprisings in many places in the sixties and early seventies of the eighteenth century. The people of these colonies began to consider themselves American and as a nation which should be independent of England.

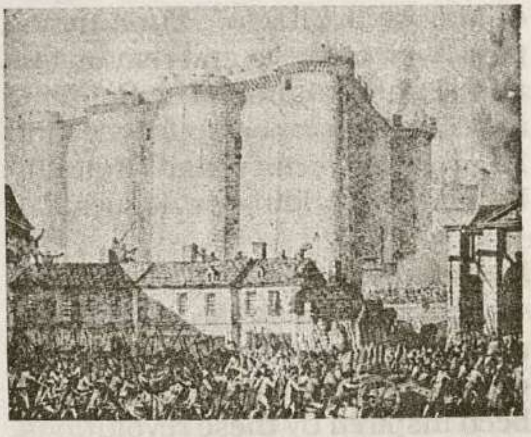
Many settlers were inspired by the revolutionary ideas of that time.



The signing of the Declaration of Independence was celebrated by the people of the English colonies in North America.

Some English and French philosophers of the time said that man has certain fundamental rights which no government can take away. Right to rebellion against injustice was one such right and the American leader Thomas Jefferson encouraged the fellow-settlers to exercise this right. On 4 July 1776, the representatives of the thirteen colonies met together and adopted the Declaration of Independence. It stated that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. As the English government did not respect these rights, the Americans started the War of Independence. Eventually, the colonies became independent. They adopted a republican form of government and called themselves the United States of America (U.S.A.). In a republic, the government derives its powers from the people. The people's representatives who now formed the new government in U.S.A. adopted a Bill of Rights. This Bill guaranteed to the citizens of U.S.A. certain rights.

Soon after, two hundred years ago, there was a revolution in France. At this time, the condition of the common people in France was miserable, while the nobles and the high-ups of the Church enjoyed all the privileges. Even those who were rich but did not belong to noble families, such as the merchants, had no rights. The nobles and the Church who owned vast estates did not pay any taxes. The taxes were paid only by the common people. The king of France, Louis XVI, wanted to impose more taxes and collect fresh loans from the people. The revolutionary ideas of the French philosophers had already inspired the common people to assert their right to govern themselves. Now they started fighting for their rights, and the revolution broke out. Their representatives declared themselves to be the National Assembly of France. On 14 July 1789, the people broke open the



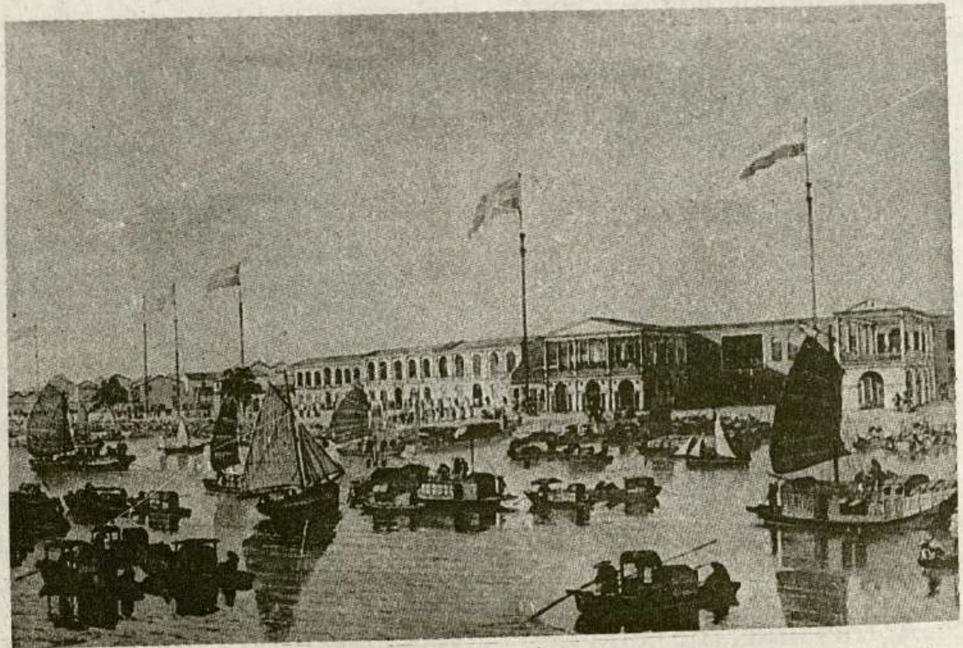
On the 14th of July, 1789, the storming of the Bastille, a state prison in Paris, became a symbol of the French Revolution.

State prison of Bastille in Paris. This day is celebrated as the National Day of France every year.

The National Assembly adopted the "Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen", announcing that "men are born and remain free and equal in rights." The Republic of France was established, and Liberty, Fraternity and Equality became its guiding principles.

Nationalism

For establishing democracy and rights of the people in all countries of the world, people have been inspired by these revolutions. These revolutions also strengthened the idea of nationalism. Nationalism and the formation of nations were new developments. You know of kingdoms and empires of the ancient and medieval times. They were not nations in the sense in which we use the term today. Nations began to be formed when a people, who had a long and common history of inhabiting a definite territory, began to consider themselves as one people, dependent on one another and distinct from other peoples. During the middle ages, the kings in most countries of Europe had very little power. The feudal lords were very powerful within their estates. Even the laws and rules in one part of the



The traders from Europe had started setting up trading centres and colonies in many countries of Asia and Africa. The illustration shows the British and other European trading centres in Canton, China, in the 18th century.

country were different from those in another part. Where there were empires, it was common for the ruler of one country to have some parts of other countries also under his rule. The territories of states often changed.

Along with changes in social and economic life, there was the beginning of a big political change. Countries which were divided into a number of states tried to unite themselves. Thus, different parts of a country were brought together as one state. In Europe, England and France were the first countries to emerge as independent and united states.

A country, parts or the whole of which were under foreign domination, began to struggle to overthrow the foreign rule and establish itself as a united nation. In the nineteenth century, there were struggles for freedom and national unification in Poland, Greece, Germany, Italy and other countries of Europe. Many of these succeeded, for example, Italy and Germany, in unifying themselves into nations. Others struggled on and won their freedom in the twentieth century. The struggle for democracy and for national independence from foreign domination and national unification have been the most important factors in shaping the world during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

Imperialism

While parts of Europe and America were building up democratic and national governments and using machines to develop their industries, what had been going on in India and other countries in Asia and in Africa ? You know the story of the European sailors and traders coming to Asian ports from the fifteenth century onwards to buy spices, calico, muslin, tea, sugar, saltpetre, etc. which were much in demand in Europe. These people were mainly from Portugal, Holland, Denmark, England and France– all maritime countries. Sri Lanka, India, Malaysia and Indonesia were the places wherefrom the European traders collected their merchandise. To establish their control over trade from which huge profits were made, these traders often fought among themselves. For this they got military help from their respective governments. By the middle of the eighteenth century we find that the East India Company of England has become the most dominant group among the European traders in Asia with India as their most important base. The traders of other European countries established their centres of operation in other parts of Asia.

At this time the situation in Asian and African countries was much different from that of Europe. The governments were weak. None of them had any worthwhile navy. The economic changes that had made some European countries strong had not even started. The Europeans who had come to Asian countries for trade conquered them through wars and deception.

Apart from the weaknesses of Asia and Africa, there was another major factor that led the Europeans to conquer and establish colonies there. We have seen above the enormous growth in the production of goods because of the Industrial Revolution. To keep it going and thus fetch more profits to the owners of the factories, ready markets for the finished goods and new sources of raw materials were necessary. The Europeans were well acquainted with the markets in Asia, and to make them secure, political domination over them was established.

Thus started the colonial imperialist conquest of Asia. From the middle of the nineteenth century, this spread to Africa as well. European countries which had developed their industries and had stronger military forces triumphed over the peoples of Asia and Africa.

By the end of the nineteenth century, most parts of Asia and Africa came under the direct or indirect control of European imperialism. The possession of colonies also became a symbol of national pride for the Europeans, besides being a source of economic gains.

The Second World War (1939-45) weakened the imperialist powers very much and slackened their hold on the colonies. The world opinion against imperialism was also roused. But the struggle against imperial powers had started in the colonies long back and freedom fighters had to work hard and make many sacrifices. Since 1945 when the Second World War ended, almost all countries in Asia and Africa have become independent.

New Movements

The twentieth century saw some revolutions which led to the building of new society in some countries. The French Revolution popularized the idea of democracy which promised everybody equal rights. But the growth of capitalism divided the people into two main classes : the capitalists and the workers. The workers did not receive much of the gains of new industries and remained poor and often unemployed. In this situation, the political right to equality came to be seen as incomplete without economic and social equality.

In the nineteenth century, workers began to organise themselves into associations called 'trade unions' to defend and promote their common interests. They also started organising themselves into political movements aimed at creating new and better ways of living. Some thinkers and philosophers advocated that factories, land and other means of producing goods should not be the property of a few individuals but should be owned by the people as a whole and worked for the good of all. Of these thinkers, the ideas of two have had a world-wide impact. These two thinkers, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, were close friends and worked and developed their ideas together for about 40 years. They said that capitalism would be replaced by a new system of society, a socialist society. In a socialist society all the things that are used to produce the necessities of life—land, factories, etc.—would become the collective property of the entire society and not of a few individuals. Political movements based on their ideas grew in almost every part of the world with a view to establishing socialism. In 1917, the first successful revolution of the type advocated by these thinkers, occurred in Russia. It resulted in the overthrow of the autocratic rule of the Czars, the emperors of Russia, and the building up of socialism in the U.S.S.R. The Russian Revolution, like the American and the French Revolutions that had occurred before, has had a great influence over us during the period when we were fighting for our independence and also in our efforts at building a better life for ourselves. The impact of the ideas of Marx and Engels and of the Russian Revolution has been felt in all countries of the world.

Thus we see that the world has passed through many movements and upheavals during the past few hundred years. It has changed beyond recognition. During this period, all parts of the world have been brought together. Any event taking place in one part of the world immediately comes to be known in other parts of the world. Events taking place in one country often influence other countries. Two world wars have taken place in the twentieth century which have affected almost every part of the world. Millions of people were killed in these wars. However, there have also been efforts to put an end to

On the 7th of November 1917, the Russian Revolution took place. It was led by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin The picture shows Lenin and the storming of the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg.

war and to build a peaceful world in which all human beings will live as equals and free from want and misery. There are many problems which the world as a whole and every country in the world faces. It is necessary for us to understand the world we live in as well as our own country. Knowing about the past is necessary to understand the present.

The following chapters will help you understand some of the important developments that took place in our country till 1947 when we became an independent nation.

EXERCISE

I. Terms to Remember :

ARCHAEOLOGY :	Scientific study of life and culture of ancient people based on excavation of ancient sites, relics and artefacts
INSCRIPTION :	Writing inscribed or engraved on stones, coins, metal plates and other objects
CAPITALISM :	The economic system in which the means of production and distribution are privately owned and are operated for profit
SOCIALISM :	The economic system in which the means of production are owned by the society or the community rather than by private individuals

II. Answer the following questions.

1. What was the contribution of Renaissance to the making of the modern world ?
2. Though there was a tremendous increase in the production of goods as a result of the Industrial Revolution, the condition of the workers became miserable. Which factors were responsible for this ?
3. What were the achievements of the War of American Independence and the French Revolution ?
4. Which factors were responsible for the conquest of Asia and Africa by imperialist countries ?
5. What was the impact of the Revolution of 1917 on economy and society ?

III. Match the names of persons given in column 'A' with events or persons in column'B'

A	B
1. Karl Marx	King of France

2. Louis XVI	War of American Independence
3. Rousseau	Russian Revolution
4. Thomas Jefferson	French philosopher
5. Czar	Emperor of Russia

IV. Given below are some statements. Put (√) if the statement is true and (X) if the statement is incorrect.

1. The modern age came all of a sudden.
2. The Renaissance inspired many people in Europe to think for themselves.
3. During the later part of the medieval period, many towns prospered in Europe because of the development of trade.
4. The Russian Revolution resulted in the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R.
5. The Second World War strengthened the imperial powers.
6. Most countries in Asia and Africa became independent after the First World War.
7. The countries of Asia and Africa were exploited by the European powers.

V. Arrange the following in chronological order.

Renaissance, American Revolution, Industrial Revolution, First World War, French Revolution, Russian Revolution, League of Nations, Second World War, United Nations.

VI. Things to Do

On the outline map of the world, locate five colonies of England each in Asia and Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

India in the Eighteenth Century

Disintegration of the Mughal Empire

THE Mughal empire, as you have already read in the book on 'Medieval India', had succeeded in uniting almost the entire country. An efficient administrative system had been developed during Akbar's reign which helped in maintaining the stability of the empire for the next 150 years and in expanding it. You have also read of the progress made in this period in art and architecture, in music and literature.

During the reign of Aurangzeb, the last of the Great Mughals, there were revolts against the empire. These were the revolts of the Marathas, the Sikhs, the Jats and many others. After the death of Aurangzeb, the Mughal empire began to disintegrate fairly fast. The country soon broke up into smaller territories many of which became more or less independent.

The Later Mughals

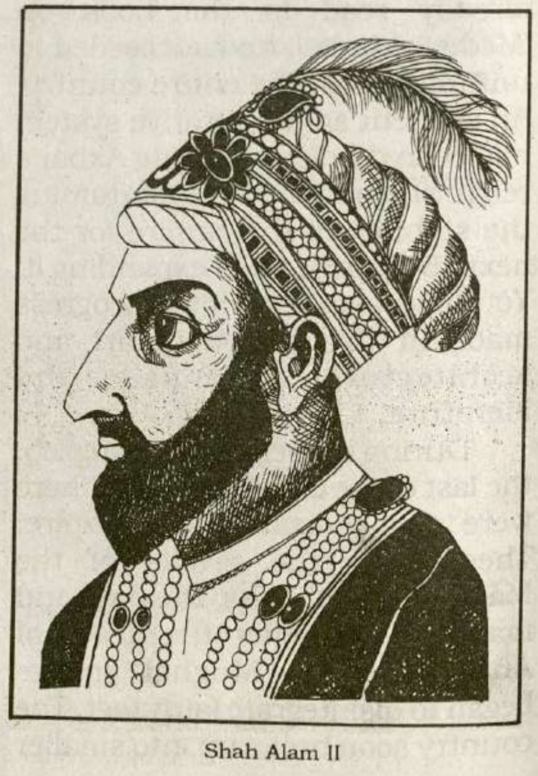
The Mughal emperors who came to the throne after the death of Aurangzeb are called the Later Mughals. The real power under these rulers passed into the hands of nobles. They formed themselves into many factions, usually on the basis of their common origin. For example, the nobles who had come from Trans-Oxiana in Central Asia formed one group and were known as the Turanis. Similarly, there were groups of Irani, Afghan and Hindustani nobles. Each of the groups tried to establish its own supremacy and establish its own power.

You have read before that by the end of Aurangzeb's reign, the number of Mansabdars in the empire had increased though the revenue had declined. And each Mansabdar demanded bigger Jagirs which would yield him more revenue. The Mansabdars resisted transfers and tried to make their Jagirs permanent and hereditary. The distribution of the Jagirs was in the hands of the Wazir. Groups of nobles, therefore, fought one another to capture the office of the Wazir to promote the interests of their relatives and followers.

In the war of succession that followed the death of Aurangzeb, Bahadur Shah was victorious. During his short reign, 1707-1712, Bahadur Shah tried to restore the goodwill of the Mughal empire by conciliating the Marathas and the Rajputs. He released Shahu, the grandson of Shivaji, who had been imprisoned by Aurangzeb.

Jahandar Shah came to the throne in 1712, with the help of Zulfiqar Khan, who was Aurangzeb's seniormost general. The Jizya was abolished during his reign. Jahandar Shah was overthrown within a little over a year after coming to the throne. Farrukhsiyar became the Emperor in 1713. The most powerful nobles in this period were Abdullah Khan and Husain Ali Khan, popularly known as the Saiyid brothers. When the Emperor tried to suppress their power, he was put to death in 1719. The Saiyids raised to the throne, successively two cousins of Farrukhsiyar and then another cousin, Mohammad Shah, who became the Emperor in 1720. However, soon after that, the Saiyid brothers were overthrown by a group of nobles led by Chin Qilich Khan who had been a famous general of Aurangzeb.

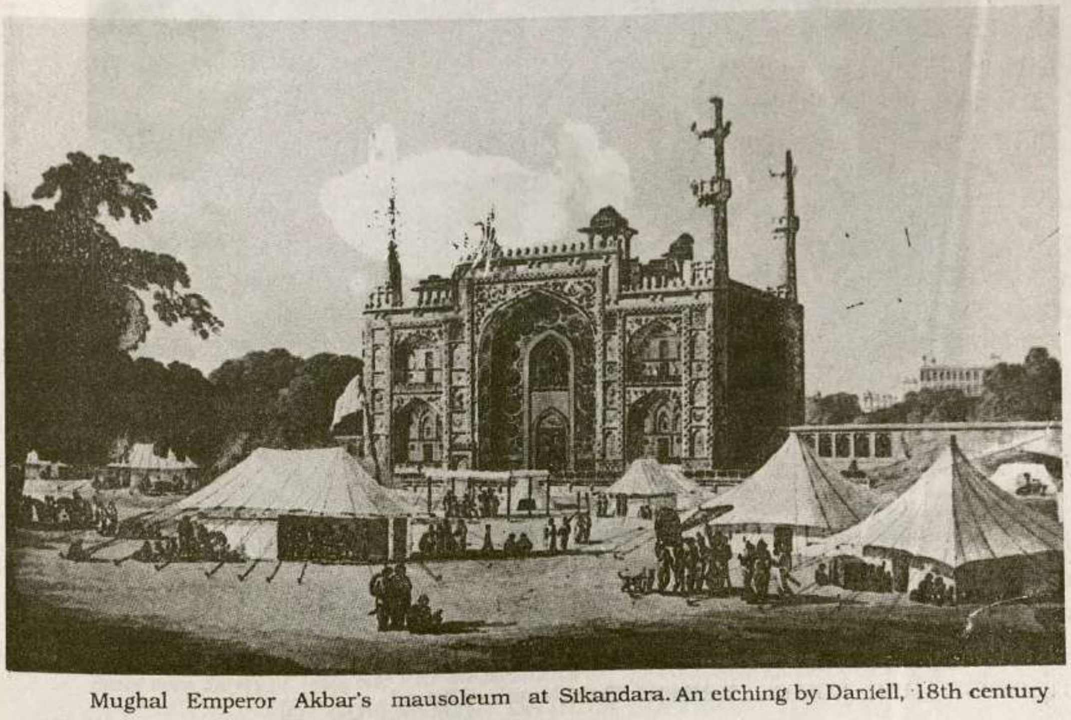
Mohammad Shah reigned for 29 years till 1748. However, the empire had already started breaking up. The conflicts among the different groups of nobles had



Shah Alam II

weakened the authority of the central government. The real power was usurped by the nobles who started setting up their own authority. Although they continued to pay formal allegiance to the Emperor, they tossed him like a shuttle-cock to suit their convenience. Gradually, several provinces seceded from the empire and semi-independent kingdoms emerged in Bengal, Awadh, Hyderabad and Rohilkhand. In 1739, the Mughal armies were routed by Nadir Shah at Karnal. This was followed by the cruel massacre at Delhi and the plunder of its wealth. The period after Nadir Shah's invasion saw further disintegration of the empire. The glory of the Mughal empire had come to an end.

The successors of Mohammad Shah—Ahmad Shah (1748-1754), Alamgir II (1754-1759) and Shah Alam II (1759-1806)— were Emperors only in name. In the meantime, the Marathas had emerged as the most important power in the country.



Mughal Emperor Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandara. An etching by Daniell, 18th century

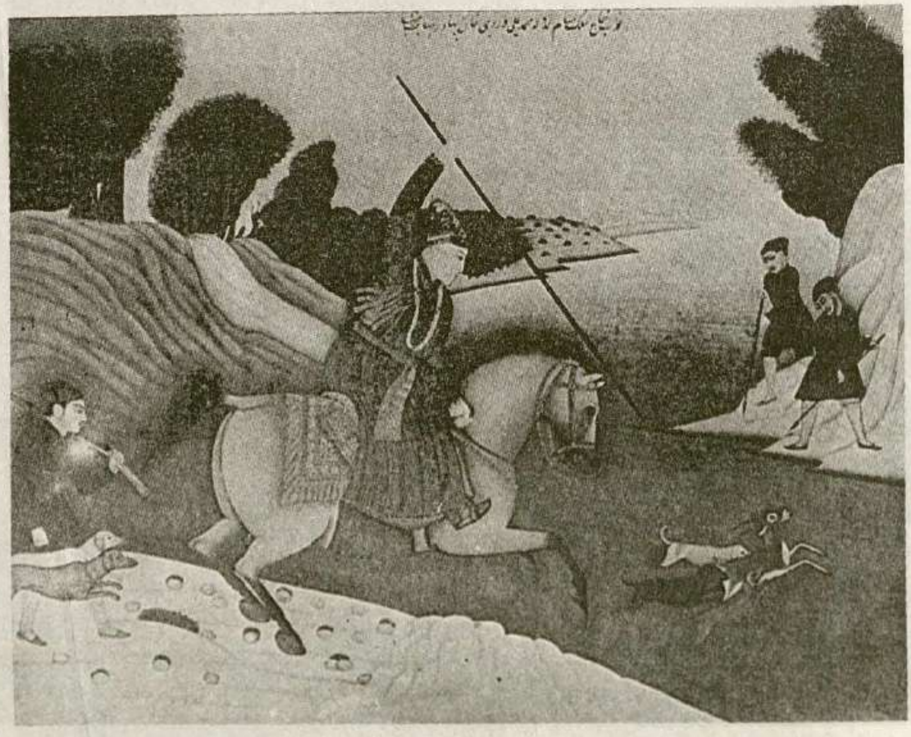
Rise of Independent States

Bengal

Murshid Quli Khan had been the Diwan of Bengal under Aurangzeb. Farrukhsiyar made him the governor of Bengal. He soon became almost an independent ruler and shifted his capital to a town in central Bengal which he renamed Murshidabad. Murshid Quli Khan and his successor nawabs administered Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as independent rulers though they continued to send revenue to the Mughal emperor regularly. They reorganised the administration of the province and encouraged the growth of agriculture, trade and industry. The revenue was collected regularly and with strictness. Loans were given to poor cultivators but the revenue demand was not decreased. Thus the revenue resources of the province were increased though the peasants were not benefited.

Hyderabad

Chin Qilich Khan had been given the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk and had been made the governor of

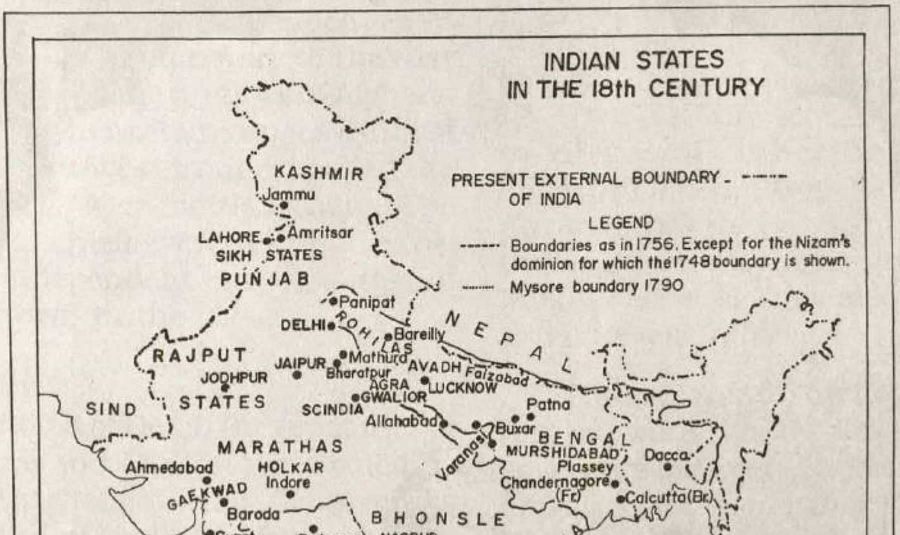


Alivardi Khan, Nawab of Bengal.

the Deccan. In 1722 he was made the Wazir but soon afterwards he returned to the Deccan and consolidated his hold over the region. Though he never declared his independence, he governed the Deccan as an independent ruler and founded the Asaf Jahi dynasty. His successors were called the Nizams of Hyderabad.

Awadh

Saadat Khan, a junior Mughal officer, had helped in the overthrow


INDIAN STATES
IN THE 18th CENTURY
PRESENT EXTERNAL BOUNDARY OF INDIA
LEGEND
Boundaries as in 1756. Except for the Nizam's dominion for which the 1748 boundary is shown.
Mysore boundary 1790
KASHMIR
Jammu
LAHORE
Amritsar
SIKH STATES
PUNJAB
Panipat
DELHI
ROHILAS
Bareilly
NEPAL
RAJPUT
JODHPUR
STATES
SIND
JAIPUR
Mathura
Bharatpur
AGRA
AVADH
Faizabad
LUCKNOW
GWALIOR
SCINDIA
Allahabad
Patna
Buxar
BENGAL
Varanasi
MURSHIDABAD
Plassey
Dacca
Chandernagore (Fr)
Calcutta (Br)
MARATHAS
Ahmedabad
HOLKAR
Indore
GAEKWAD
Baroda
BHONSLE
Surat
Burhanpur
NAGPUR
ORISSA
Aurangabad
Bombay (Br)
PESHWA
NIZAM'S
DOMININONS
POONA
Satara
HYDERABAD
Bijapur
Northern Circars
Masulipatam
GOA (Port.)
MYSORE
Srirangapatnam
Mysore
Arcot
Madras (Br.)
Wandiwash
Pondicherry (Fr.)
Calicut
Malabar
TRAVANCORE
Trivandrum
LAKSHADWEEP (INDIA)
ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS (INDIA)

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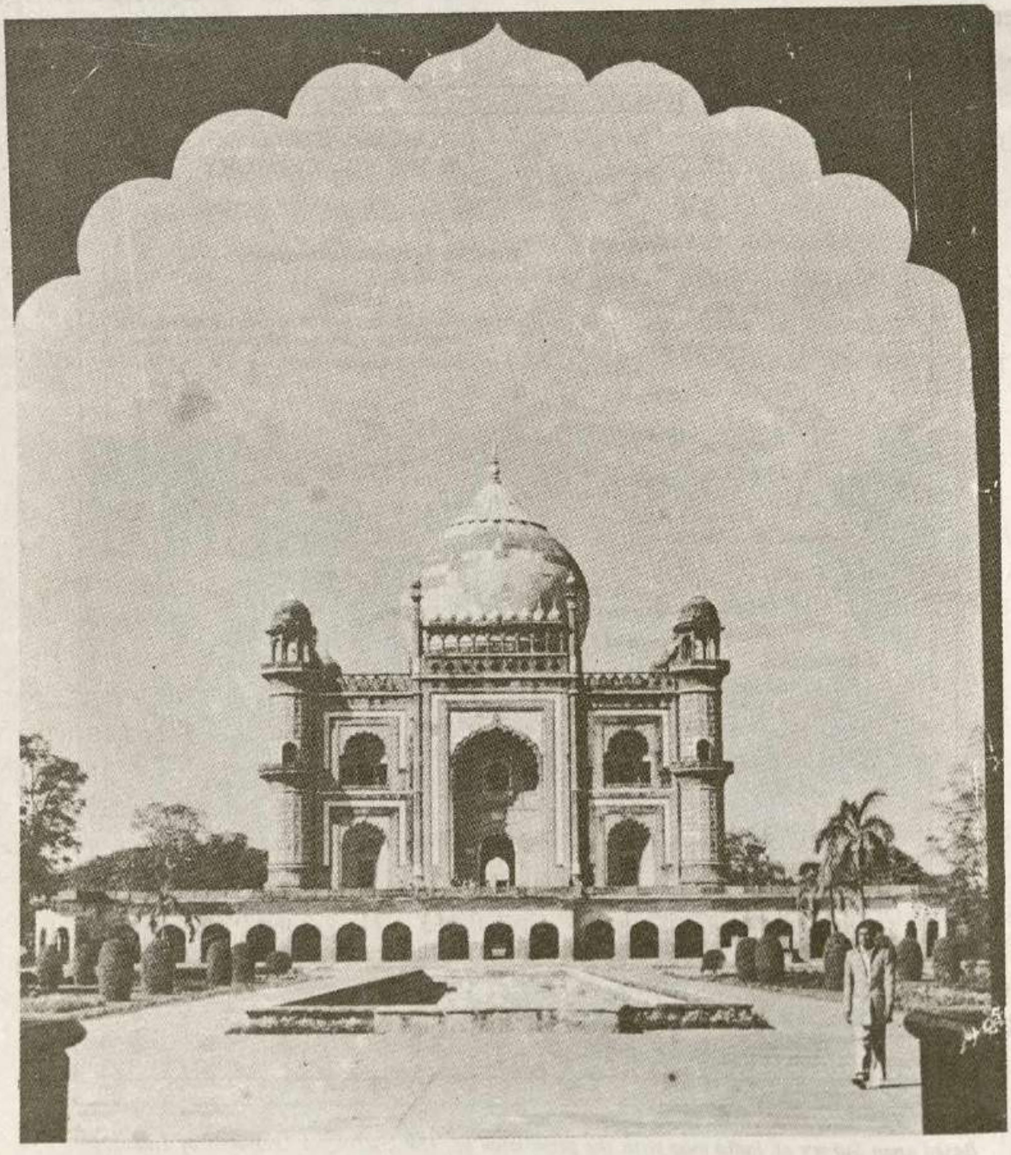
The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

of the Saiyid brothers mentioned above. He was the governor of Awadh in 1722. He was succeeded by his son-in-law Safdar Jung who also became the Wazir of the empire for a few years. The rulers


The Tomb of Safdar Jung, Delhi.

of Awadh tried to suppress lawlessness, improve the financial resources of the province and establish a reign of peace and justice. They organised a powerful army which was composed of, besides Muslims and Hindus, Naga Sanyasis as well. The authority of the Awadh rulers extended up to Rohilkhand, a territory to the east of Delhi. A large number of Afghans from the mountain ranges (Ruh) of the north-west frontier, called the Rohillas, were settled there. The Rohilla chiefs were trying to carve out independent principalities of their own in the area.

Punjab

North of Delhi, the territories of Lahore and Multan were ruled by the Mughal governor. However, as a result of Nadir Shah's and later, Ahmed Shah Abdali's invasions, their power was destroyed and the Sikhs began to emerge as the supreme political power in the area.

Other Indian States

You have read above how the officers of the Mughal empire carved out independent states for themselves. Simultaneously, many states which had been part of the Mughal empire asserted their independence and tried to expand their influence.

The Rajputs

The Rajput chiefs from the time of Akbar had provided strong support to the Mughal empire. Many of them, however, had risen in revolt against Aurangzeb when he tried to interfere with their privilege of inheriting their ancestral lands. After the death of Aurangzeb, they tried to free themselves from the control of the Mughal empire. They also tried to extend their influence.

The rulers of Jodhpur and Amber were made the Mughal governors of Gujarat and Malwa. It appeared for some time that the Rajputs were regaining their position and influence in the empire and emerging as its major support against the Jats and the Marathas. The most outstanding Rajput ruler in this period was Sawai Raja Jai Singh of Amber (1681-1743). He built the beautiful city of Jaipur and erected astronomical observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Banaras, Ujjain and Mathura.

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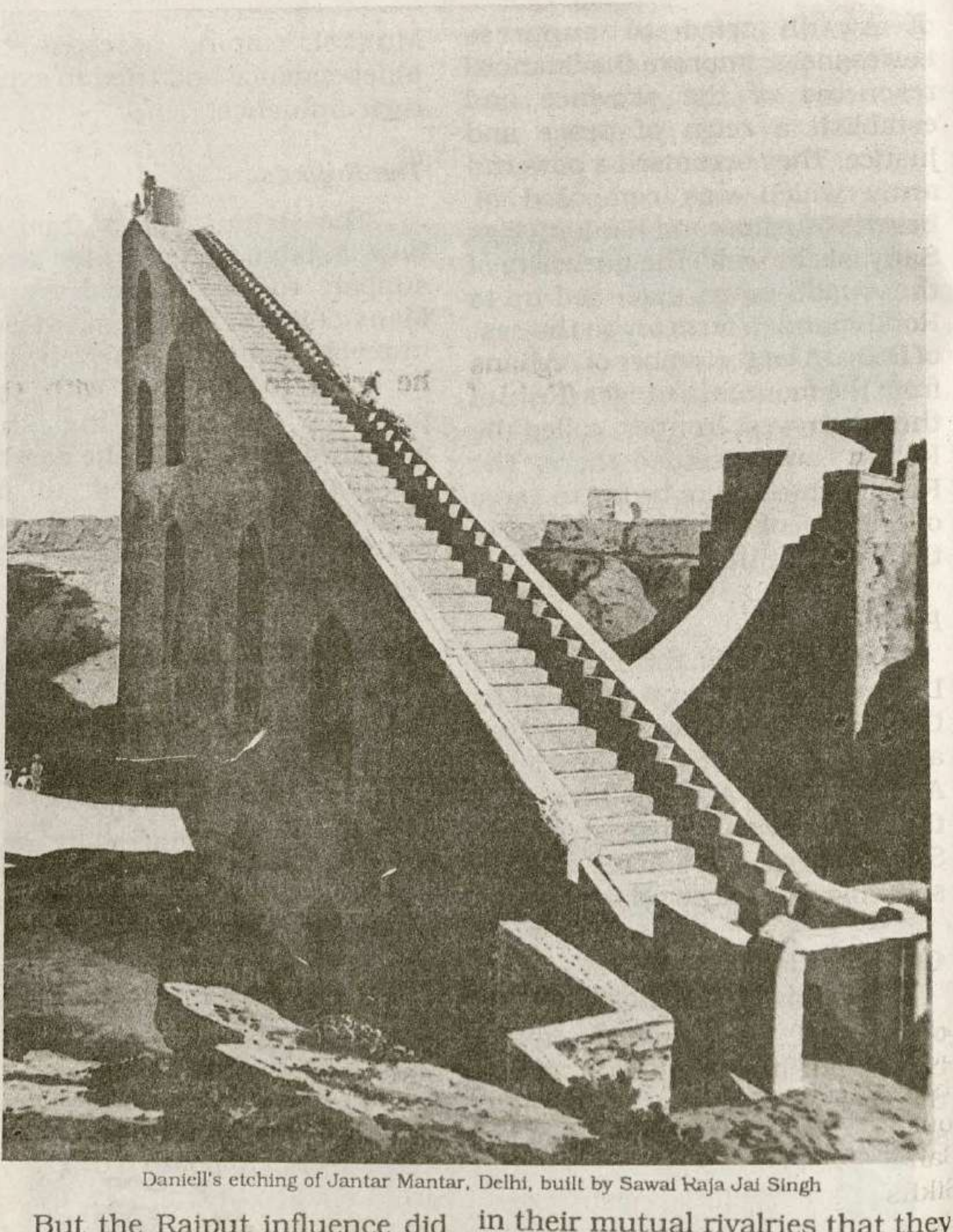


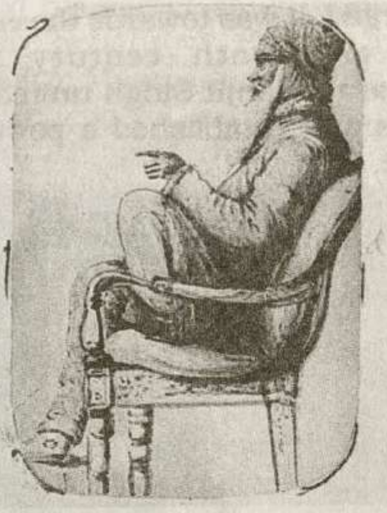
Daniell's etching of Jantar Mantar, Delhi, built by Sawai Raja Jai Singh

But the Rajput influence did not last long. They were so involved in their mutual rivalries that they did not have the strength or the capacity to compete for power outside their domains. With the rise in the power of the Jats, the Marathas and the provincial rulers, they lost their Jagirs outside their own states and their influence began to shrink.

Though the political influence of the Rajputs declined, the influence of a group of Rajasthanis in the economy of the country increased. These were the merchants who had earlier concentrated on the cross-country trade between the important centres in Gujarat, Delhi and Agra at that time. With the decline of the empire, the commercial importance of these centres also declined. They shifted to the new centres and began to control the trade and commerce in Bengal, Awadh and Deccan.

The Sikhs

The Sikhs, as you already know, had not been able to found a state during the reign of Aurangzeb even though they had been organised into a fighting group by the tenth and the last Guru–Guru Gobind Singh. After the death of the Guru, the Sikhs found a capable leader in Banda Bahadur. Under his leadership, the Sikhs offered valiant resistance to the Mughals and overran the entire territory between Lahore and Delhi. However, they were defeated and Banda was put to death. But soon the Sikhs reorganised themselves. Following the invasion of Nadir Shah, the Mughal authority in Punjab declined and confusion prevailed as a result of the conflicts between the Afghans and the followers of Nadir Shah left in the region. Taking advantage of the situation, the Sikhs began to occupy the province step by step. They formed themselves into twelve small groups known as Misls. The leaders of these Misls parcelled out the territories among themselves. Even Ahmad Shah Abdali was unable to destroy the Misls and within two years of his departure, the governors appointed by him at Sirhind and Lahore were driven out. Small principalities like Nabha, Patiala and Kapurthala

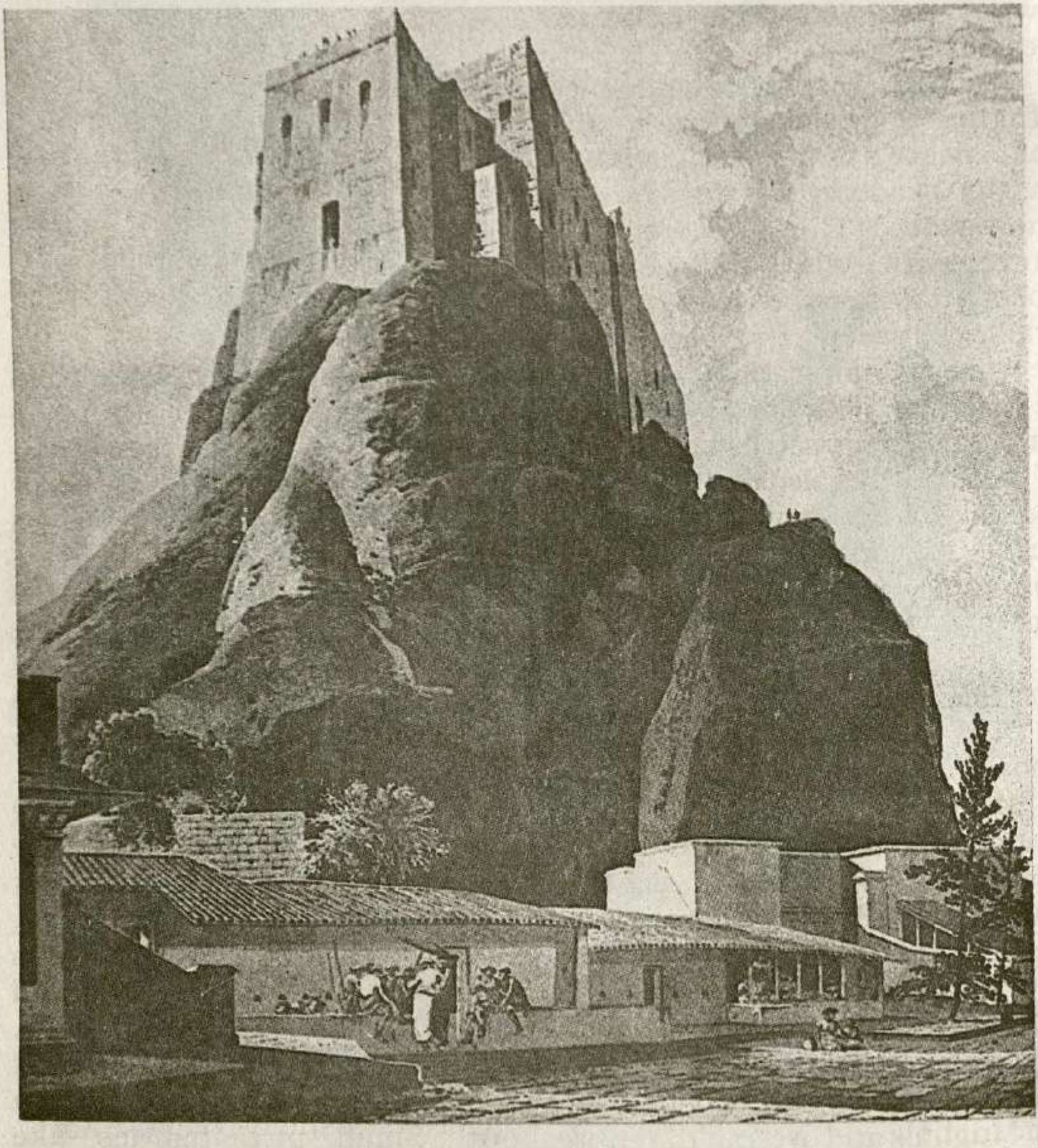


Maharaja Ranjit Singh

emerged. It was towards the end of the eighteenth century that Maharaja Ranjit Singh united the Misl's and established a powerful state.

Carnatic and Mysore

Many other new states emerged in the eighteenth century India. Some of the these gained prominence in the second half of

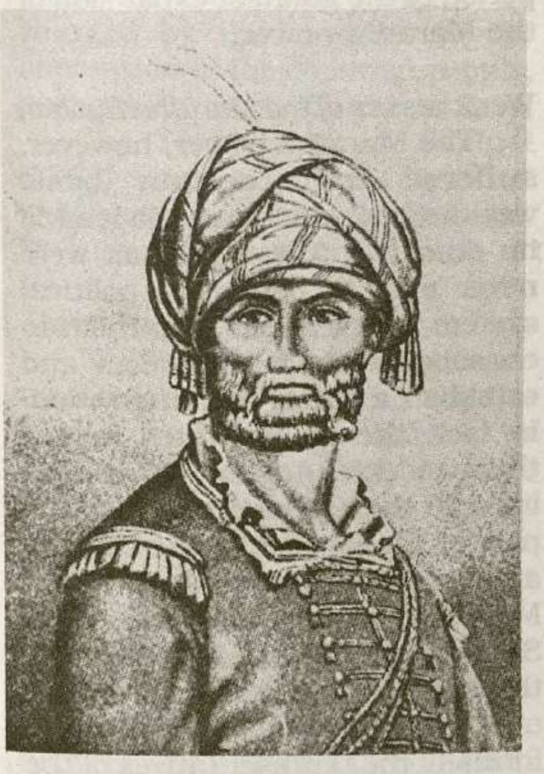


Tiruchirapalli (Trichonopoly) was a part of the Subah of Carnatic. An etching by Daniell in the 18th century.

the century when they became involved in conflicts with the European companies. You will read about them in greater detail in the following chapters.

The Subah of Carnatic gradually freed itself from the control of the Mughal governor of the Deccan. You may remember that the governor of the Deccan had more or less freed himself of the authority of the Mughal emperor and had founded the Asaf Jahi dynasty of the Nizams in Hyderabad.

In 1761, Hyder Ali, who had started his career as an ordinary soldier overthrew the reigning dynasty in Mysore and established his own control over that state. Hyder Ali and his son and successor, Tipu Sultan, were very able rulers. They introduced many important reforms which made Mysore one of the most powerful states in India. For example, they made use of the modern methods of military training and organisation and established a workshop to produce modern weapons. They also tried to introduce some new industries. In religious matters they were enlightened and broadminded and thus won the loyalty and support of all their subjects. Unlike most other Indian rulers of their time, they were aware of developments in the world.



Hyder Ali

Expansion and Decline of the Maratha Power

Shivaji, as you have already read, had founded the Maratha kingdom during the reign of Aurangzeb. After the death of Aurangzeb, Shivaji's grandson Shahu was released from captivity. Tara Bai, the widow of Raja Ram, had installed her son as a rival king at Kolhapur, while Shahu ruled at Satara. This led to war between the supporters of the two competitors for the Maratha kingdom.

Ultimately, Shahu's supremacy was firmly established.

Rise of the Peshwas

Balaji Vishwanath contributed greatly to the success of Shahu. He rose to the position of the Peshwa and inaugurated an era of Maratha expansion. He entered into a pact with one of the Saiyid brothers.

All the territories that had formed Shivaji's kingdom were restored to Shahu. He was assigned the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of the six subahs of the south. In return, Shahu agreed to place a force of 15,000 cavalry in the service of the empire. In 1719, the Maratha forces led by the Peshwa helped one of the Saiyid brothers in overthrowing Farrukhsiyar. At Delhi, the Marathas witnessed the weakness of the Mughal empire and were filled with the ambition of establishing Maratha supremacy. The office of the Peshwa became the most powerful office and soon eclipsed the authority of the Maratha king.

Balaji Vishwanath was succeeded by his son Baji Rao I in 1720. He started the policy of fighting an offensive war against the Nizam and of extending Maratha power in the north to levy tribute. He conquered Malwa, southern Gujarat and Bundelkhand and conducted raids up to the very gates of Delhi. However, he did not occupy Delhi as the Mughal emperor still carried considerable prestige. The Maratha raids were not conducted for conquest. They were primarily interested in laying their hands on a major part of the land revenue of these areas.

Baji Rao's son Balaji Baji Rao continued the forward policy of his father. During his Peshwaship, the Marathas reached as far as Bihar and Orissa in the east and the Punjab in the north. This was the period of the greatest expansion of the Maratha power.

Weaknesses of the Maratha System

The Maratha power, however, suffered from certain basic weaknesses which were to lead to its downfall. The Marathas were never able to develop a political system which could help them to consolidate their conquests and establish a stable administration. In fact, the policy which helped them to extend their power also brought their ultimate ruin. A fixed part of the levies like the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi was sent to the Maratha central government at Satara. The rest was retained by the sardars who maintained their own armies. The sardars were formally the representatives of the Peshwa but each of them had built his distinct power over semi-independent principalities. All of them desired to shake off the allegiance they owed to the government at Satara. By the middle of the eighteenth century, five distinct Maratha powers had emerged. These were the Peshwa at Poona, Gaekwad at Baroda, Bhonsle at Nagpur, Holkar at Indore and Sindhia at Gwalior.

Because of the nature of their political system, the Marathas alienated the sympathies of other people. By their raids into the territories of other rulers, they made new enemies. The levies charged by them added to the oppression of the common people, particularly peasants and traders.

The Third Battle of Panipat (1761) exposed their internal weaknesses and the lack of support for them from other quarters.

Third Battle of Panipat

Nadir Shah of whom you have read before was murdered by his troops and his conquests in Afghanistan passed into the hands of one of his commanders, Ahmad Shah Abdali. The dynasty founded by him is known as the Durrani dynasty.

Meanwhile, the Marathas had begun to extend their influence over Delhi and Punjab. A war between the Marathas and Abdali became inevitable. Besides the Marathas, other powers in the north in this period were the Nawab of Awadh, the Jats, and the Rohillas. The Mughal emperor did not matter. Abdali was able to gain the support of Awadh and the Rohillas. The Marathas had alienated almost everyone and when the decisive battle took place at Panipat in 1761, neither the Rajputs nor the Jats and the Sikhs nor any other power came to their aid. The Marathas were routed and some of their best commanders and thousands of soldiers were killed. This battle is known in history as the Third Battle of Panipat. The first, as you already know, was fought between Babar and Ibrahim Lodi in 1526 and the second between Hemu and Akbar's armies in 1556.

The consequences of the war with Ahmad Shah Abdali were disastrous for the Marathas. It dealt a severe blow to Maratha supremacy in India, particularly in the northern territories. Whatever unity existed among them ended after the war. The Maratha sardars fought against one another and sought the help of other powers in their internal conflicts. For a time, the Marathas recovered some of their lost power but the recovery was shortlived.

In the meantime, vast changes

were taking place in the political life of the country with the intervention of European trading companies in the political affairs of the country.

Some Features of Society and Politics

During this period of political conflicts, trade and commerce continued to flourish. Some of the important centres of trade and commerce in this period were Murshidabad and Dhaka in Bengal, Hyderabad and Masulipatam in the south, and Faizabad, Benaras, Lucknow and Gorakhpur in Awadh.

The provincial rulers sought to gain the support of Hindu and Muslim officials and chiefs. There was no religious discrimination and recruitment to various offices of the state was done without regard to religion. You have already seen that in the army of the Nawab of Awadh, there were Naga Sanyasis. The coming closer of Hindus and Muslims helped in the further growth of a common culture. Indian languages such as Bengali, Marathi, Telugu and Punjabi made good progress and their literature was further enriched. Urdu which had started developing earlier began to be commonly used especially in the towns. It began to develop a rich literature, particularly poetry. Great progress was made in the field of classical music like Khayal as well as lighter modes of Thumri and Ghazal singing. Painting developed in many areas under the influence of the Mughal and Rajput styles, particularly in Kulu, Kangra and Chamba. Thus, in spite of conflicts and wars, cultural progress continued.

The political condition of India in the eighteenth century was one of extreme disunity. With the decline of the Mughal empire, no other Indian power emerged to take its place in strength and prestige, and to unite the country under a central authority. The Marathas who emerged into the position of pre-eminence among the new Indian states did not prove capable of fulfilling that task. Their method of expansion alienated them from other rulers and people. The ruling sections in various states were divided into opposing groups and their mutual rivalries weakened their respective states.

Indian society also presented a picture of disunity. Hindus, as you know, were divided into upper and lower castes and innumerable Jatis. There was hardly a common cause which would bring all the disparate groups together. A large number of people were treated badly by the upper castes and were considered 'untouchables'. Within the Muslim community also there were divisions and some groups considered themselves to be superior to the others.

There were many reasons for this lack of unity. You have read in the previous chapter how the economic changes in many countries of Europe led to the rise of nation states. The growth of trade and commerce, and later on the rise of industries had helped to create a common economic life for the people in their respective countries. These changes had made different parts of a country dependent on one another and created conditions in which people living in one part would have a stake in the happenings in other parts. The people whose countries were divided into many independent states were struggling to unify their countries. The people were also fighting to destroy the old forms of government. They were on the way to establishing democracy which meant equal rights for all citizens of a country, and a government which was formed and run according to the wishes of the people. As early as the seventeenth century, there was a Civil War in England and the king was executed. Though monarchy was restored, the real power passed into the hands of Parliament. The king gradually became a mere titular head. What happened in North America and France in the eighteenth century has already been stated in the last chapter.

Many of these factors were absent in India of the eighteenth century. There was much trade with the outside world and inside the country also but it did not very much affect the economic and social life of the people. Each village lived on the goods produced in the village itself. Thus it was an almost independent economic unit. The revenue which the state took from the village, which was usually very large and more than half of the total produce of the village, was spent in maintaining the huge armies and providing the nobles a life of luxury. Change of rulers, rise of new states and similar other political changes hardly had any effect on the life in villages. Also, there was no middle class like the one that had emerged in Europe. There were, of course, families that had become rich through trade. But the wealth they accumulated was used mainly for moneylending rather than on new skills, new ways of producing goods and new technology. It may be remembered that in England in this period, the Industrial Revolution had started which was soon to spread to some other countries of Europe. The changes in the political life of the country added to the misery of the peasants. To safeguard and expand their power, the provincial rulers waged wars against other rulers as well as against local chiefs who resisted them. The cost of warfare had to be largely borne by the peasants. They were made to part with a larger share of what they produced than before.

The rulers of the states in India seemed unaware of the developments taking place in the world. In the political life of India, a new element had entered. The European trading companies, about whose early history you have read earlier, were beginning to meddle in the political affairs of this country and were also trying to establish their own political power. The prevailing political condition provided them with the opportunity to do this.

However, the rulers of Indian states were unaware of this danger to their own rule. In fact, they were quite willing to become tools of the foreign trading companies, in the hope of advancing their own interests against their rivals. Even before the Marathas suffered defeat at the Third Battle of Panipat, the British conquest of India had begun. In the coming decades it continued, gradually to cover almost the entire country.

EXERCISES

I. Terms to Remember :

CHAUTH :	Tax realized by the Marathas from the areas outside their domain, equal to one-fourth of the revenue paid to the Mughal Empire
SARDESHMUKHI :	Another tax realized by the Marathas equal to one-tenth of land revenue
SWARAJYA :	That area of Maharashtra where Shivaji founded his kingdom
MISL :	Political units among the Sikhs, each loyal to its own particular leader

II. Answer the following questions.

1. What were the chief features of the political condition of India in the 18th century ?
2. Why did the authority of the central government decline after the death of Aurangzeb ?
3. Why were the provincial kingdoms always engaged in wars ?

4. Why did the Rajput power decline after the death of Aurangzeb ?
5. What was the impact of the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali on the Mughal Empire and other Indian powers ?
6. In spite of being a dominant power for about four decades, why could not the Marathas establish their empire in India ?
7. What were the main political divisions among the Marathas? Name the centre of each of them.

III. Given below are some statements concerning the events that occurred between 1707 and 1761. Put a (√) mark against the correct statements and a (X) mark against the wrong ones.

1. The Peshwas were the most powerful leaders among the Marathas.
2. Bahadur Shah succeeded to the imperial throne peacefully.
3. Nizam-ul-mulk was overthrown by the Saiyid brothers.
4. None of the provincial governors sent any tribute to Delhi.
5. Soon after the death of Aurangzeb the Sikhs became independent.
6. Nadir Shah was resisted by all the Indian rulers when he invaded India.
7. Businessmen from Rajasthan spread their influence all over the country.
8. Delhi could not regain its prestige after its sack by Nadir Shah.
9. The Marathas were a united power without any serious internal conflicts.

IV. In column 'A' are mentioned the names of some persons and in column 'B' statements about them. Rearrange the statements in column 'B' so as to correspond with the names in column 'A'.

A	B
1. Hyder Ali	He held the office of the Peshwa.
2. Chin Qilich Khan	He was the ruler of Bengal.
3. Baji Rao	He was the Nawab of Awadh.
4. Murshid Quli Khan	He was the first Nizam of Hyderabad.
5. Safdar Jang	He was the ruler of Jaipur.
6. Sawai Raja Jai Singh	He was one of the Saiyid brothers.
7. Husain Ali Khan	He was the ruler of Mysore.

V. Things to Do

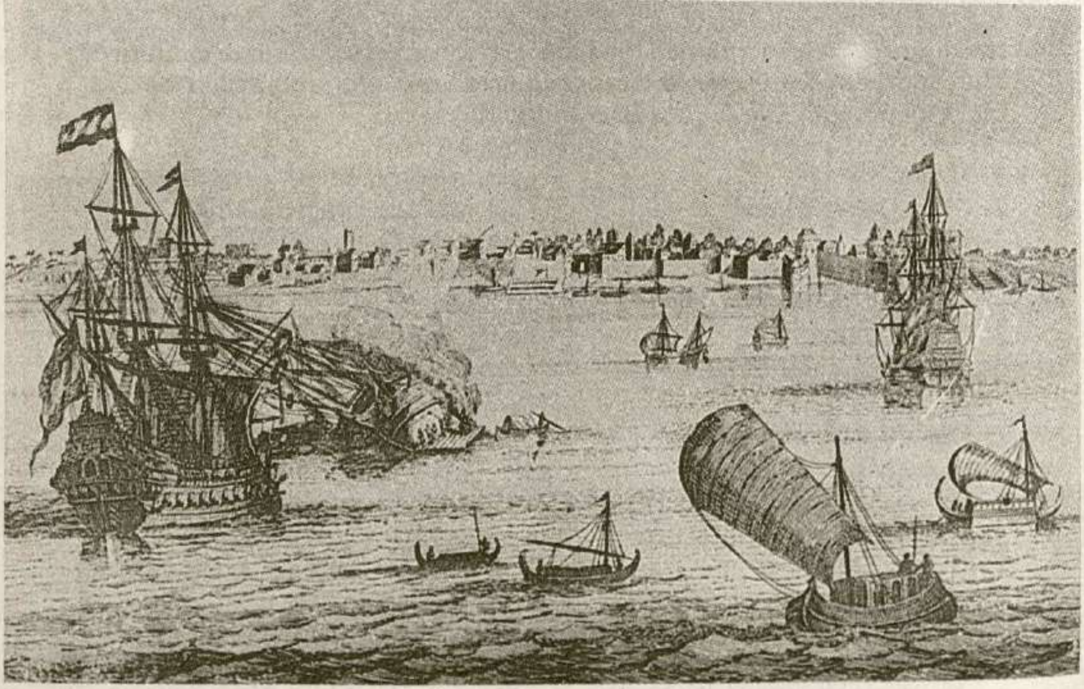
1. Prepare a list of provincial kingdoms along with their capitals that arose in the 18th century. Show them on a map of India.
2. Visit historical places in your area that may be connected with an Indian kingdom of the 18th century. Prepare a report on your visit, keeping in view the following : name of the ruler with whom the place is connected; the period of his reign and the main events connected with his reign; type or types of building or buildings; and any other interesting thing about the place.

CHAPTER THREE

The Rise and Growth of British Rule in India

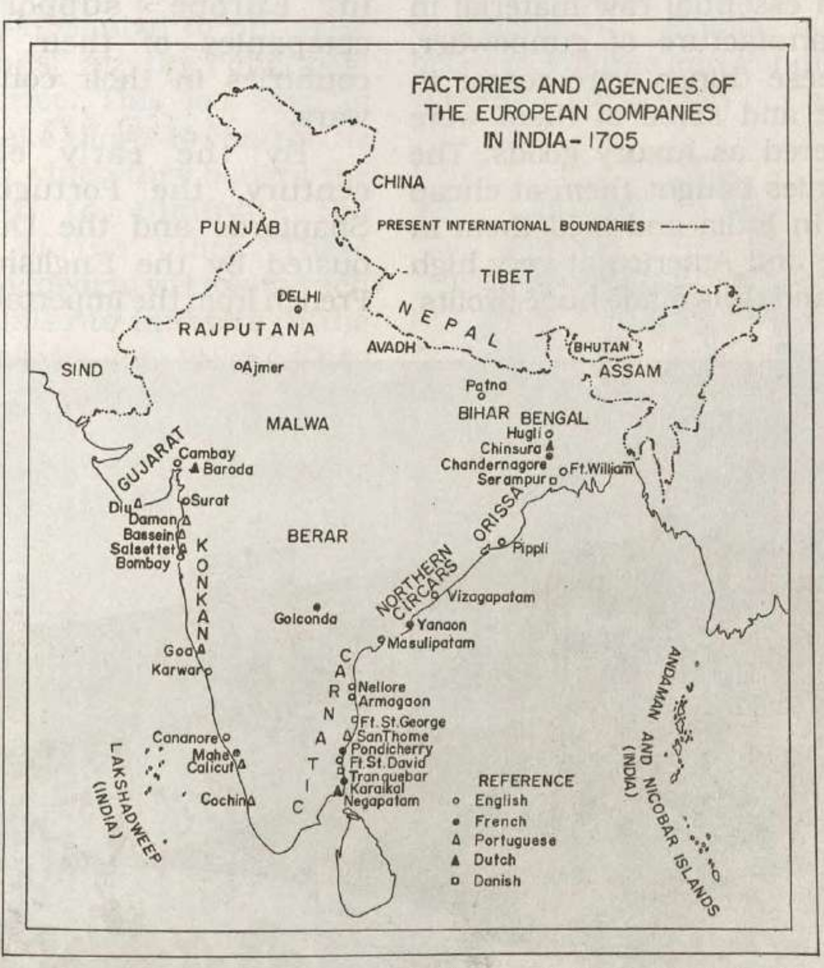
European Trading Companies in India

YOU have read before of the discovery of the sea-route to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498 and the formation of trading companies in



The view of Surat from the river Tapti. The English East India Company set up their trading centre here.

many European countries for trading with India and other parts of Asia. The companies of various countries, mainly those of Portugal, Holland, England, France and Denmark, had established their trading centres in different parts of India. These were mostly in coastal areas. These trading centres were called "factories" that is, places where "factors" or officials of the company worked. Some of these


FACTORIES AND AGENCIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMPANIES IN INDIA - 1705
PRESENT INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES
CHINA
PUNJAB
TIBET
DELHI
NEPAL
RAJPUTANA
AVADH
BHUTAN
ASSAM
SIND
Ajmer
Patna
BIHAR
BENGAL
MALWA
Hugli
Chinsura
Chandernagore
Ft.William
Serampur
GUJARAT
Cambay
Baroda
Surat
Diu
Daman
Bassein
Salsette
Bombay
KONKAN
BERAR
ORISSA
Pippli
NORTHERN CIRCARS
Vizagapatam
Golconda
Yanaon
Masulipatam
Goa
Karwar
CARNATIC
Nellore
Armagaon
Ft.St.George
SanThome
Pondicherry
Ft.St.David
Tranquebar
Karaikal
Negapatam
Cananore
Mahe
Calicut
Cochin
LAKSHADWEEP (INDIA)
ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS (INDIA)
REFERENCE
o English
• French
Δ Portuguese
▲ Dutch
□ Danish

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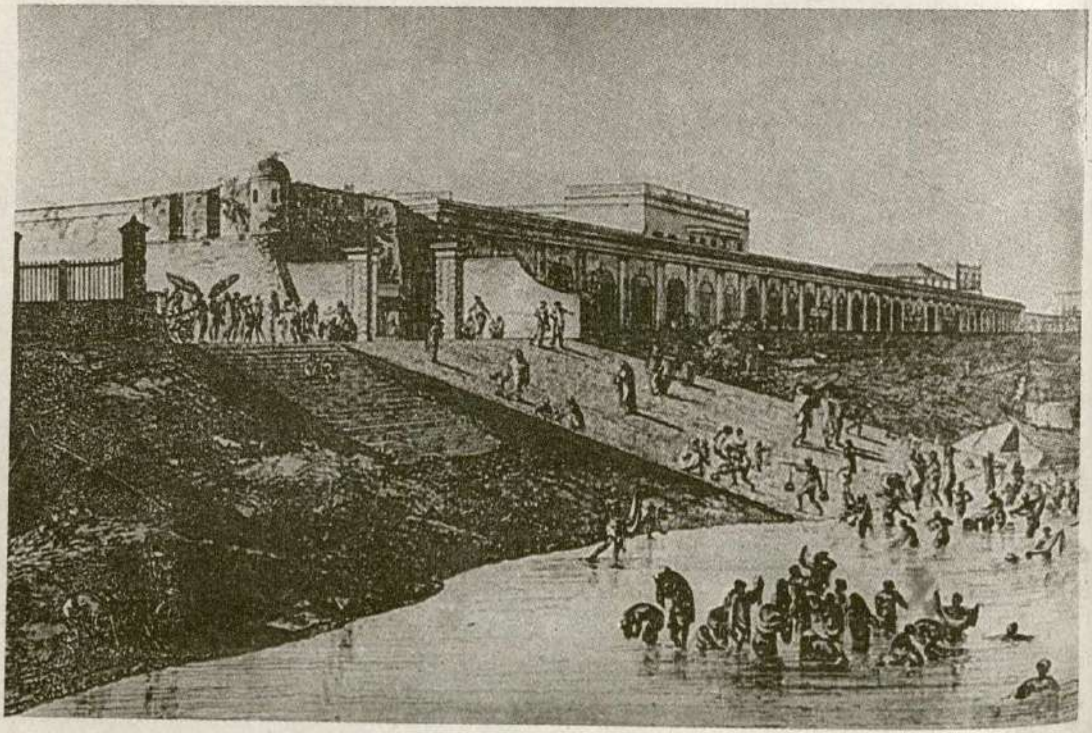
The spellings of names appearing on this map have been taken from various sources.

The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

"factories" were fortified to defend themselves against the armed attacks of their rivals. These companies bought in India spices, cotton textiles prepared on handlooms, indigo which was used for dyeing cloth, saltpetre which was an essential raw material in the manufacture of gunpowder, etc. These things were scarce in Europe and some of them were considered as luxury goods. The companies bought them at cheap prices in India and sold them in Europe and America at very high prices and thus made huge profits. The companies paid for these things in India mainly in gold and silver. The huge profits that the companies made through this trade led to competition, and rivalries among them often led to violent conflicts. The governments in Europe supported the companies of their respective countries in their conflicts and wars.

By the early eighteenth century, the Portuguese, the Spaniards and the Dutch were ousted by the English and the French from the important position



Fort William, Calcutta

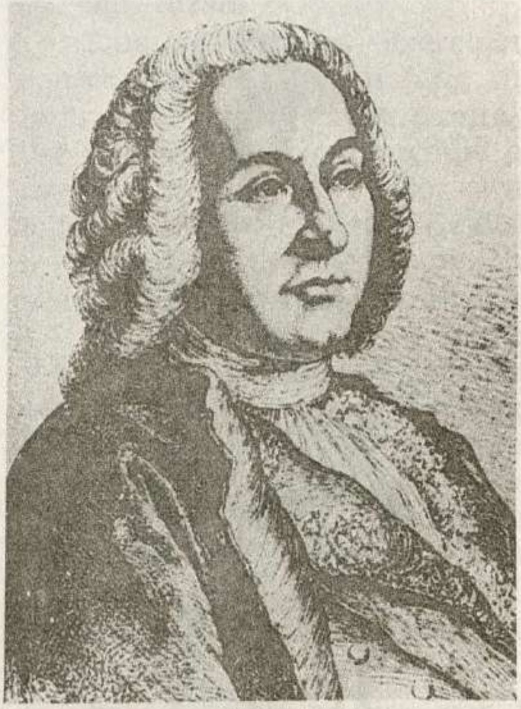
that they had earlier held in the trade between Asia and Europe. The companies of England and France now came to dominate the Indian trade with Europe. They were involved in conflicts with each other as rivals. To earn more profits, each wanted to purchase more goods at the cheapest possible price. This led each of them to make efforts to control the markets in which they bought the goods and to eliminate the influence of the other. These rivalries led them to wars with each other and also to interfere in the political affairs of India. They started planning the establishment of their political authority to control the trade and eliminate their rivals.

The French had their headquarters at Pondicherry on the south-east coast of India. In that region, the English company had its centre at Fort St. George in Madras, not very far from Pondicherry. They had another fortified post called Fort William at Calcutta and had begun to establish control over the export trade of Bengal. They had also established close business connections with the Jagat Seths who were also the bankers of the Nawabs of Bengal.

The Rise of British Power

The Carnatic Wars

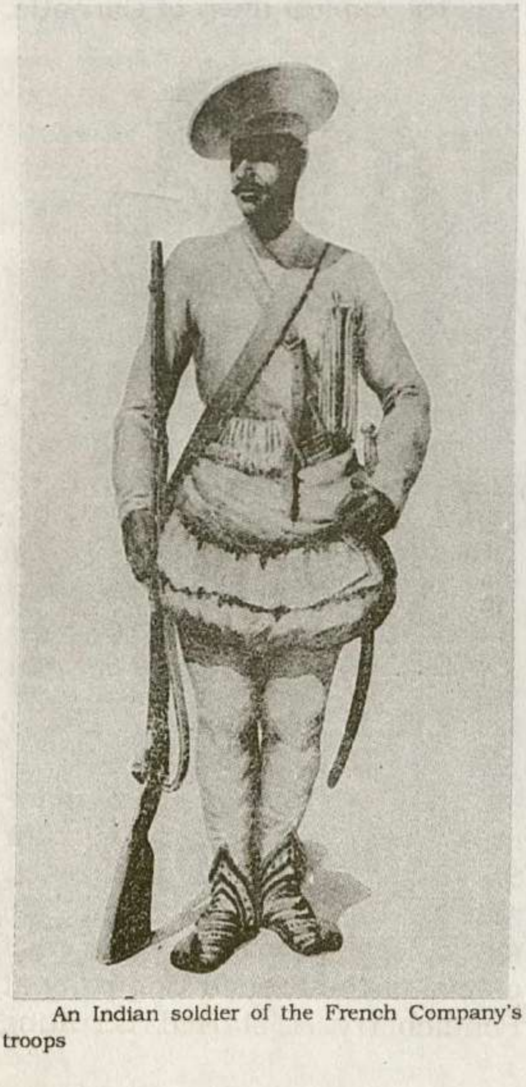
The area where the conflict first erupted between the French and the English companies was the Mughal Subah of Carnatic which had become more or less independent. Arcot, situated between Madras and Pondicherry, was the capital town of Carnatic.



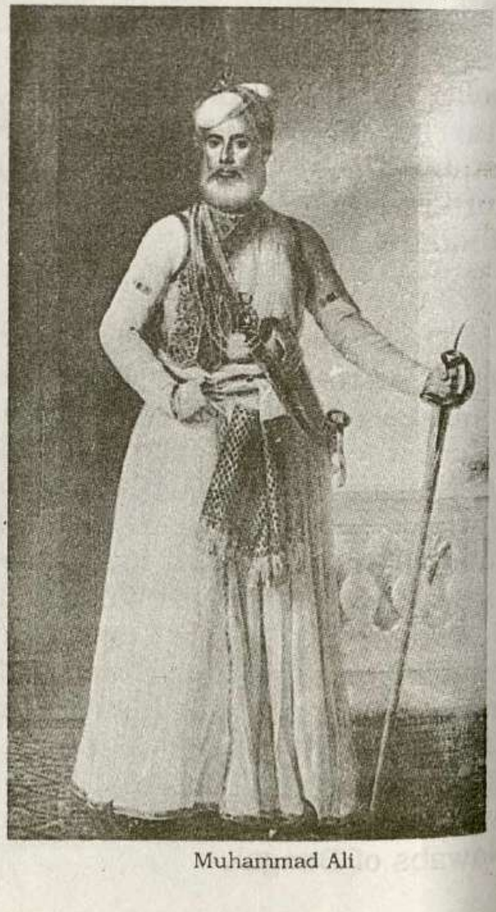
Dupleix

In 1740-48, there took place in Europe the War of Austrian Succession. In this war, the French and the English were on opposite sides. Dupleix was then the chief official of the French Company at Pondicherry. He started recruiting

Indian soldiers and giving them training in modern methods of warfare. The Indian soldiers were then used by the French in their conflicts with the English as well as Indian rulers. When the war between England and France broke out in Europe, the French sacked Fort St. George. The Nawab of Carnatic was alarmed at the growing power of the French in his province and sent an army against them. The Carnatic army was, however, defeated. The result of the battle demonstrated that a small group of disciplined soldiers, regularly paid, using guns newly developed in Europe, could defeat a much larger number of soldiers of the Indian rulers. The latter were indisciplined, irregularly paid and badly equipped. Robert Clive, who was then a clerk in the English



An Indian soldier of the French Company's troops



Muhammad Ali

Company, grasped the significance of this battle. He was soon to make use of it to advance the interests of the English Company. He also started recruiting Indian soldiers.

In 1748, peace was concluded in Europe and Madras was restored by the French to the English. But this peace was shortlived. The Nawab of Carnatic had been killed in the fight against the French. The Nizam also had meanwhile died. There were disputes over succession. The French succeeded in installing Muzaffarjung as the Nizam. The two companies supported rival candidates for the Nawabship of Carnatic. The French supported Chanda Sahib to becomed the Nawab, and the English sent Clive with a small army to install Muhammad Ali as the Nawab at Arcot in 1751. In the war that followed the French were defeated, and Chanda Sahib was beheaded. Dupleix was recalled to France and the two companies concluded a peace treaty. Muhammad Ali was recognised by the Nizam as the Nawab of Carnatic.

As a result of the War, the English Company replaced the French as the overlords of the Carnatic.

However, in spite of their defeat, the French still retained their power and influence in Hyderabad. The Nizam allowed them to collect revenue from the Nizam's territories for maintaining their army. In the name of protecting the Nizam, the French controlled him with the help of their army. It is interesting to note that the French army was maintained by the revenue which the French were allowed to collect by the Nizam.

This method of exercising control, that is, by making the Indian principality pay to maintain the foreign army which would be used to control the ruler, was followed soon after by the English in Bengal. In the meantime, the scene of conflict shifted to Bengal.

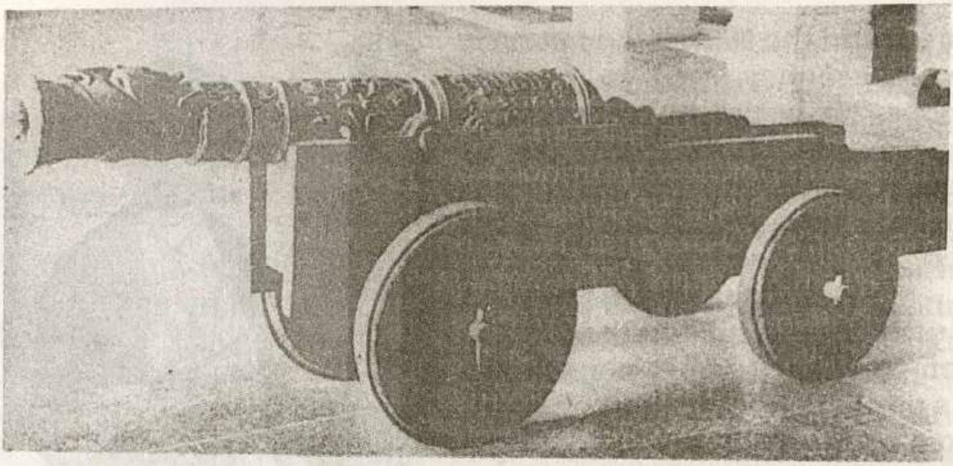
The final phase of the Anglo-French conflict started in 1756 when the Seven Years War broke out in Europe. The French forces were defeated in Carnatic. The English replaced the French in Hyderabad and the Nizam gave the English the Northern Sarkars. The French lost all their possessions in India.

In 1763, when the war in Europe ended, the French possessions were restored to them. The French, however, ceased to be a political power in India, confining their activities to trade. By this time, the English had already established their control over Bengal.

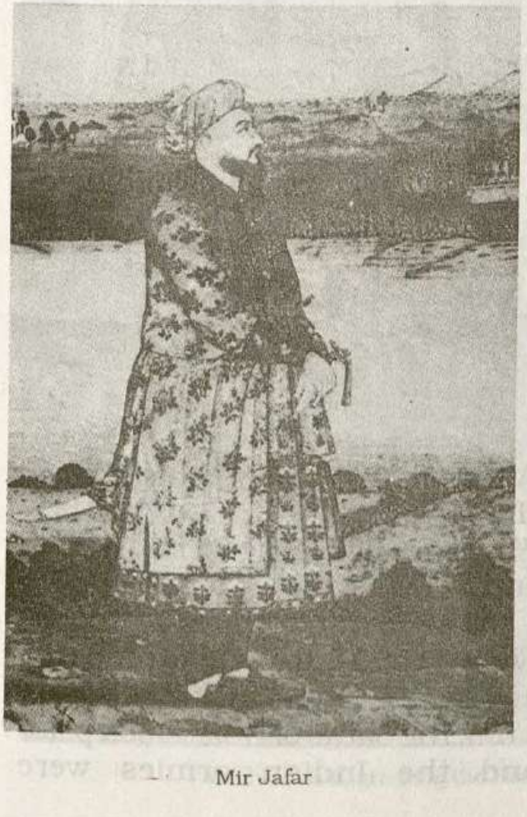
The British Conquest of Bengal

Alivardi Khan became the Nawab of Bengal in 1740. He secured the loyalty of the Zamindars and his Hindu and Muslim officials were able to give a good government to the people of Bengal. Alivardi Khan always followed a policy of keeping the European merchants under control. Alivardi Khan was succeeded by his young grandson Siraj-ud-daulah. However, his succession led to intrigues and conflicts among the members of his family. The intrigues provided an opportunity to the English Company to interfere in Bengal politics. They began to extend the fortifications of Calcutta, and refused to surrender the treasures which, according to the Nawab, they had embezzled from his treasury at Dhaka. The Nawab was probably aware of the happenings in Carnatic and decided to put an end to the danger that the English Company presented to his authority. In 1756, the troops of Siraj-ud-daulah captured Calcutta. Some of the Nawab's soldiers committed atrocities against the English prisoners, many of whom were killed. The Nawab stopped these atrocities as soon as he heard about them. When the news of the English defeat at Calcutta reached Madras, Clive, supported by a fleet, was sent to recapture Calcutta. Calcutta was recaptured but the English were no longer satisfied by it. They joined the intrigues to make Mir Jafar, the Commander-in-Chief of Siraj-ud-daulah the Nawab of Bengal. The battle between the English and Siraj-ud-daulah took place at Palasi (spelt Plassey by the English) on 23 June 1757. The troops led by Mir Jafar and others who had already entered into a cospiracy with the English did not join the battle. The Jagat Seths who had business connections with the English Company and controlled much of the finances of Bengal also decided to support Mir Jafar.

Siraj-ud-daulah



An Indian cannon used in the battle of Palasi



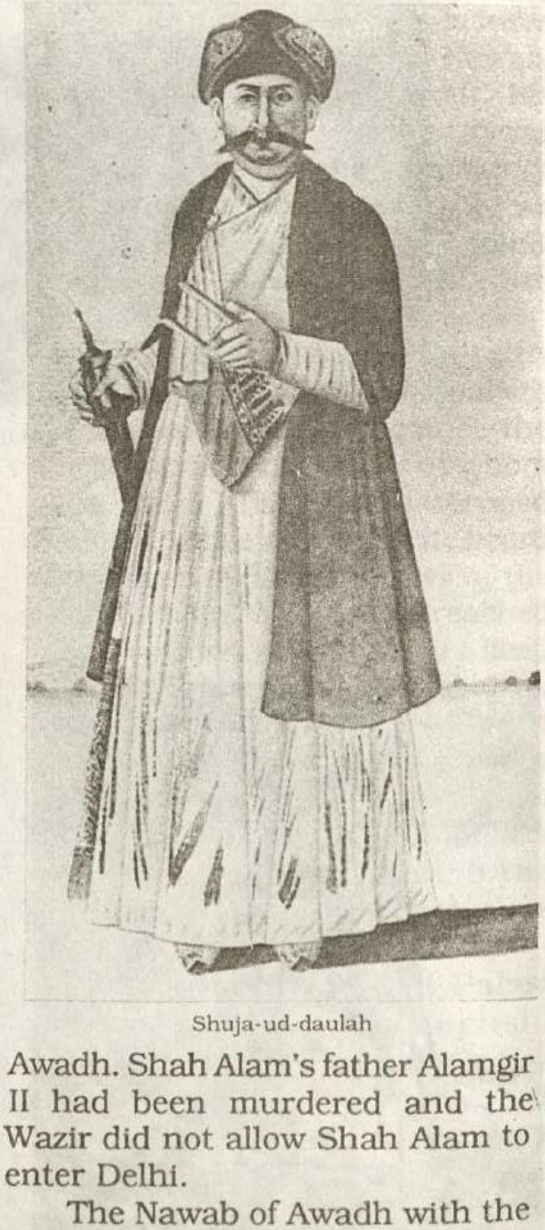
Mir Jafar

The Nawab's army was defeated, and the Nawab himself was captured and brutally put to death. Mir Jafar was made the Nawab and he gave away large sums of money to Clive and other officials of the English Company as reward for their support. This battle marks the beginning of the establishment of British power in India.

After the battle of Palasi, the English Company became the real power in Bengal, with the Nawab as its puppet. Its officials and their Indian agents forced the peasants and the craftsmen to sell their goods at rates cheaper than the market rates and thus made huge profits. The Company's officials also extorted bribes from the Nawab and from other people. The Company also made heavy demands which the Nawab was unable to meet. The treasury was empty and the Nawab did not have enough money even to pay his troops. He began to turn against the Company but before long, he was deposed and his son-in-law Mir Qasim was made the Nawab of Bengal.

Mir Qasim realised his position of utter dependence on the English Company. He tried to consolidate his power to be able to free himself from the stranglehold of the Company. He was the last Nawab of Bengal who tried to be independent. To do this, he began by dismissing all of Mir Jafar's officials who were close to the Company. He also started building a strong army and secured the service of European mercenaries to train his soldiers in the new methods of warfare. He abolished the customs duties so that the Indian merchants could trade on the same terms as the Company's officials. All these steps, and particularly the last one, angered the English Company's officials and they decided to overthrow him.

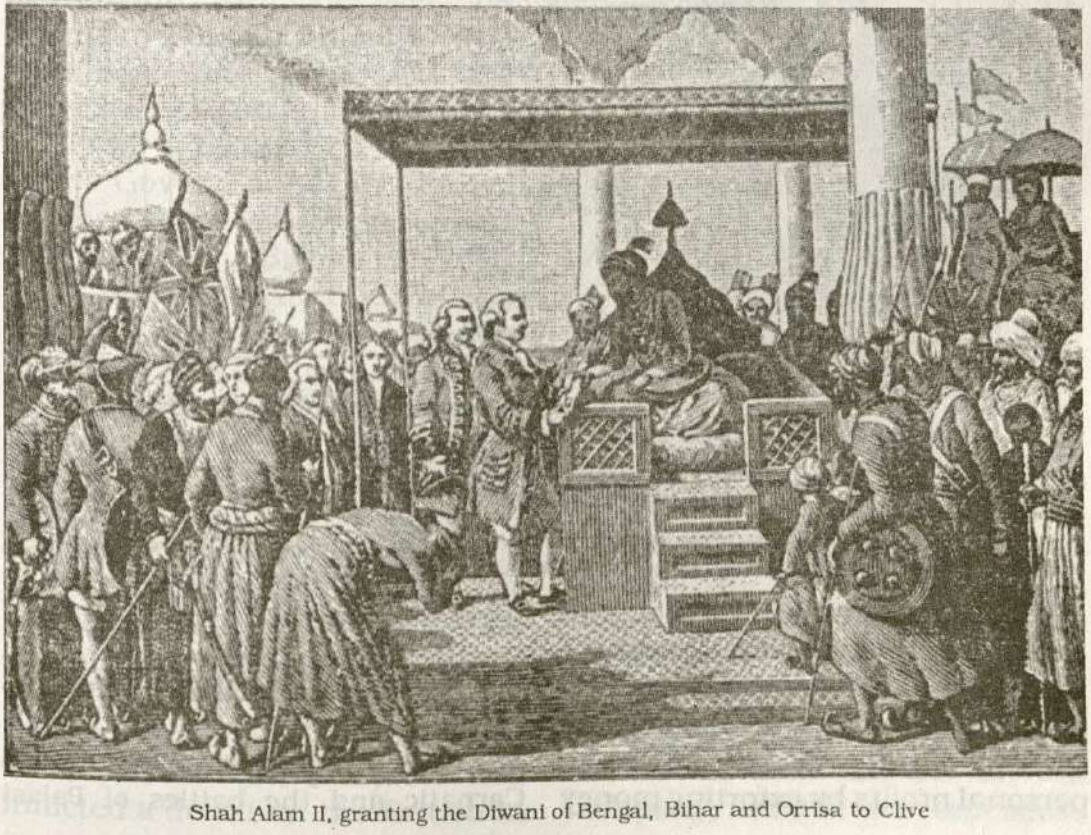
In the battles that followed in 1763, the Nawab's armies were defeated and he was driven out of Bengal and Bihar. He took refuge with Shuja-ud-daulah who had succeeded Safdar Jung as the Nawab of Awadh. At this time, the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam also had taken refuge with the Nawab of Awadh. Shah Alam's father Alamgir II had been murdered and the Wazir did not allow Shah Alam to enter Delhi.



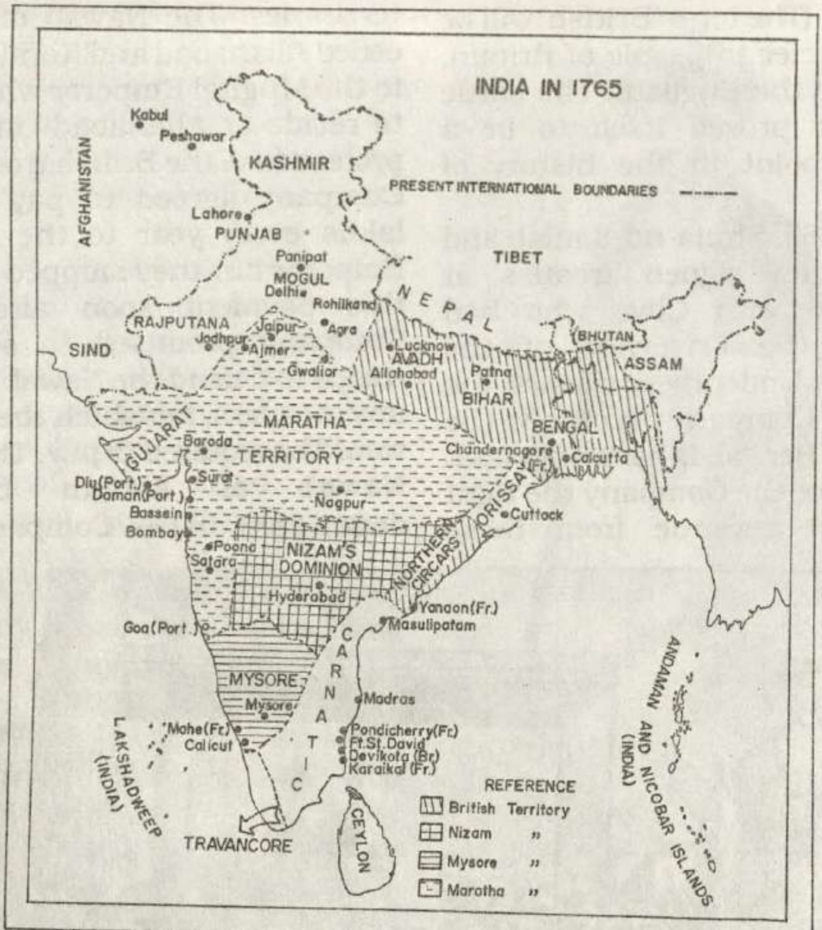
Shuja-ud-daulah

The Nawab of Awadh with the two refugees prepared for a battle against the British. On 22 October 1764, the battle of Buxar took place and the Indian armies were defeated. (The term 'British' will be used to refer to people of Britain, including the English). The battle of Buxar proved itself to be a turning point in the history of India.

In 1765, Shuja-ud-daulah and Shah Alam signed treaties at Allahabad with Clive who had become the Governor of the Company. Under these treaties, the English Company secured the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which gave the Company the right to collect revenue from these territories. The Nawab of Awadh ceded Allahabad and Kora(or Kara) to the Mughal Emperor who began to reside at Allahabad under the protection of the British troops. The Company agreed to pay Rs. 26 lakhs every year to the Mughal Emperor but they stopped making this payment soon after. The Company promised to send its troops to defend the Nawab against any invaders, for which the Nawab would be required to pay. Thus, the Nawab of Awadh became dependent on the Company.



Shah Alam II, granting the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orrisa to Clive


INDIA IN 1765
Kabul
Peshawar
AFGHANISTAN
KASHMIR
PRESENT INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES
Lahore
PUNJAB
Panipat
TIBET
MOGUL
Delhi
Rohilkand
NEPAL
RAJPUTANA
Jaipur
Agra
Jodhpur
Ajmer
SIND
Lucknow
AVADH
BHUTAN
ASSAM
Gwalior
Allahabad
Patna
BIHAR
GUJARAT
MARATHA
BENGAL
Baroda
TERRITORY
Chandernagore (Fr.)
Calcutta
Diu (Port.)
Daman (Port.)
Surat
ORISSA
Nagpur
Bassein
Cuttack
Bombay
Poona
NIZAM'S
Satara
DOMINION
NORTHERN CIRCARS
Hyderabad
Yanaon (Fr.)
Goa (Port.)
Masulipatam
CARNATIC
MYSORE
Mysore
Madras
Mahe (Fr.)
Calicut
Pondicherry (Fr.)
Ft.St.David
Devikota (Br.)
Karaikal (Fr.)
LAKSHADWEEP (INDIA)
ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS (INDIA)
REFERENCE
British Territory
Nizam "
Mysore "
Maratha "
TRAVANCORE
CEYLON

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The spellings of names appearing on this map have been taken from various sources.

The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

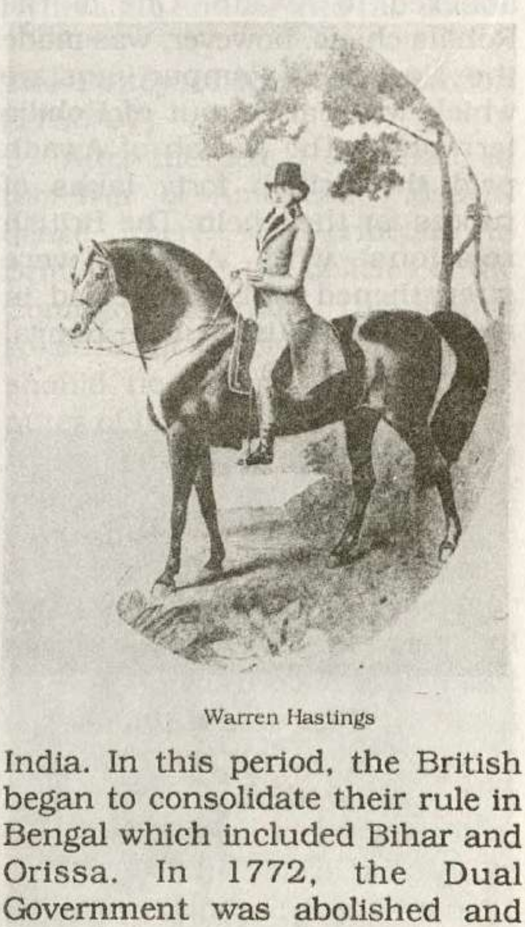
In the meantime, Mir Jafar had again been made the Nawab of Bengal. After his death his son was installed as the Nawab. The officials of the Company made huge personal profits by extorting money from the Nawab.

Extension of British Influence (1765-85)

The Anglo-French Wars in Carnatic and the battles of Palasi and Buxar began the period of the British conquest of India. The British interest, to begin with, was concentrated in the three coastal areas around Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. By 1765, the British had become the virtual rulers of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Nawab of Awadh had become dependent on them and so was the Nawab of Carnatic who was their creation. The Marathas, in the meantime, had been able to revive their power. They were the major Indian power that the British had to contend with for over four decades. In the South, besides the Marathas, the powerful Indian states were Hyderabad and Mysore.

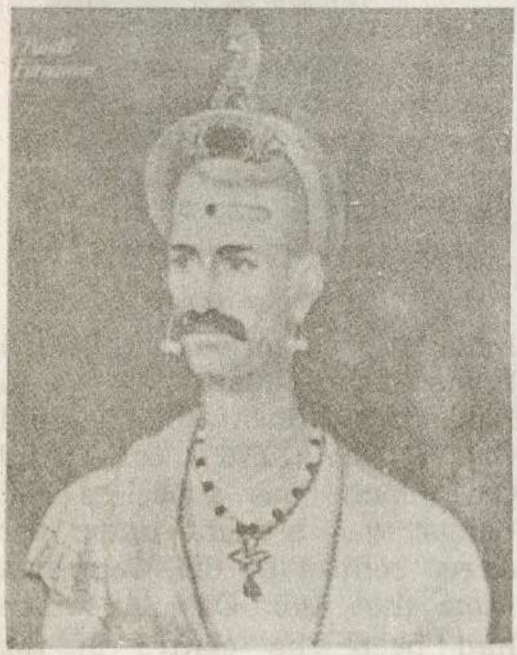
From 1765 to 1772, there was Dual Government in Bengal because there were two separate authorities. The British controlled the army and the revenue while the Nawab was supposed to look after the administration. In this situation, the Nawab had no means to enforce his authority, while the British had all the power but no responsibility. The Company's officials indulged in the worst kind of corruption and oppressed the people. In 1770, there was a terrible famine in Bengal which was made worse by the activities of the Company and its officials. In 1769, Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore, had inflicted a defeat on the British in the first Anglo-Mysore War and forced them to sign a peace treaty with him.

In 1772, Warren Hastings became the Governor of Bengal. In 1773, he was made the Governor-General of British territories in India. In this period, the British began to consolidate their rule in Bengal which included Bihar and Orissa. In 1772, the Dual Government was abolished and Bengal was brought under the direct control of the Company. From that year, Calcutta which had been the centre of the Company, became the real capital


Warren Hastings

of Bengal and, subsequently of British India. The British, in this period, also got involved in conflicts with Indian rulers.

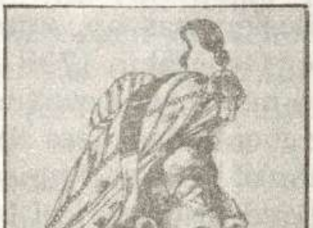
The British helped the Nawab of Awadh against the Rohillas. Most of the Rohilla territory was annexed to Awadh. One of the Rohilla chiefs, however, was made the Nawab of Rampur, a state which was carved out of Rohilla territories. The Nawab of Awadh paid the British forty lakhs of rupees for their help. The British relations with Awadh were strengthened and this helped in making the British rule in Bengal safe and secure.


Nana Phadnavis

From 1775 to 1782, the British were at war against the Marathas. The war with the Marathas, known as the First Anglo-Maratha War, had started when the British supported the claims of Raghuba to the Peshwaship against Madhav Rao II. Most of the Maratha chiefs at this time, were united behind the young Peshwa and the Maratha leader Nana Phadnavis The war was indecisive and ended in 1782. For twenty years after this, there was peace between the British and the Marathas.

According to the treaty signed by the British and Hyder Ali after the First Anglo-Mysore War, the two sides had agreed to help each other in case of an attack by a third power. However, when the Marathas attacked Mysore, the British did not give any aid to the latter. This embittered the ruler of Mysore and for the next 30 years, Hyder Ali and, later, his son Tipu Sultan, remained hostile to the British and were frequently at war with them. During the War of American Independence, France had supported the American colonies against Britain. France had also offered help to the Marathas. The British in retaliation occupied the French port of Mahe which was Mysore's only outlet to European trade. Hyder Ali attacked the

British in 1780 and was supported by the French. In 1782, Britain and France had concluded a peace treaty and the French support to Mysore was withdrawn. In 1782, Hyder Ali died but his son Tipu Sultan carried on the war. The Second Anglo-Mysore War ended in 1784 and the position that existed before the war was restored.


Tipu Sultan

Thus in the period from 1765 to 1785, the British failed to extend their territories in India. However, they were able to extend their political influence. In the war against the Marathas, they had succeeded in gaining the neutrality of the Bhonsle of Nagpur. They had also secured the neutrality of the Nizam in their war with the Marathas and Mysore. The combined strength of the Marathas, the Nizam and Mysore would have succeeded in defeating the British but the British were able to keep alive the differences among the Indian rulers. They were able to extend their influence up to the Yamuna in the west, in Hyderabad and far into the South.

The Policy of Non-intervention (1785-97)

After the defeat of Britain in the War of American Independence, there was criticism in Britain against the policies of the Company in India. The British government decided that they should not interfere in the disputes of Indian rulers. The British Parliament also passed an Act which laid down a system of government for the British territories in India. When Warren Hastings returned to England after having made a huge personal fortune, he was tried by Parliament for committing atrocities against Indians and for taking bribes from Indian rulers. Although he was acquitted, his successors Cornwallis and John Shore tried to keep themselves off from intervening in the affairs of the Indian rulers. The policy followedby them is known as the policy of non-intervention.

The Mughal Emperor Shah Alam was blinded by the Rohillas.

Later he took protection of the Maratha chief Mahadaji Sindhia. The Marathas resumed their attacks against the Nizam. The Gurkha hillmen in Nepal had become very powerful and the Burmese kingdom had also extended its influence into the north-eastern regions of India. There was also a danger of an Afghan invasion in Punjab. Cornwallis, however, refused to interfere in these areas.

The policy of non-intervention was, however, given up in the case of Mysore. Tipu Sultan had attacked the kingdoms of Coorg and Travancore whose ruler was an ally of the British. The British regarded Tipu as the chief danger to their power in the South. This led to the Third Anglo-Mysore War. Tipu suffered a defeat and he had to cede large parts of his territories to the British.

Thus, the British adhered to the policy of non-intervention only when it suited their interests. The same policy was continued by Cornwallis' successor John Shore. Thus, when the Marathas defeated the Nizam and levied Chauth in his territories, the British did not come to the Nizam's aid in spite of their promise to help. However, when in 1797, the successor to the Nawab of Awadh chosen by them was opposed, the British crushed the opposition. This period was utilized mainly to consolidate their power and to prepare themselves for the next phase of expansion.

British Expansion from 1798 to 1809

Wellesley was appointed the Governor-General in 1798 and he started a new wave of expansion. It may be mentioned here that the Revoution of 1789 in France, with its declared principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, had turned other European powers hostile to France. From 1792, Britain was engaged in war with Revolutionary France. The British felt their position in India endangered when French armies led

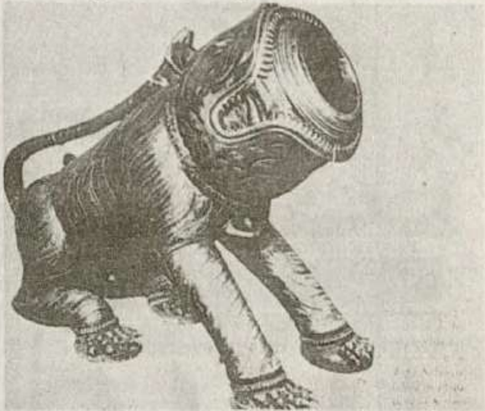
Wellesley

by Napoleon Bonaparte sailed for Egypt. The French were also trying to influence the Nizam. Tipu Sultan showed open sympathy for the French Revolution and was trying to secure French help for driving the British out of India. However, the two major Indian powers had been weakened, Mysore after her defeat in the third Anglo-Mysore war, and the Marathas due to their internal intrigues and wars.

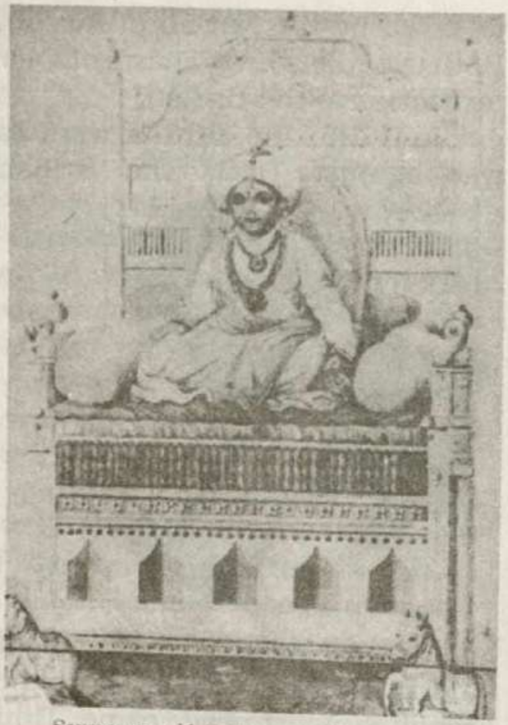
Besides conquests, Wellesley revived Warren Hastings' policy of extending influence by giving military help to one Indian state against another. This policy was developed further by Wellesley to make the British influence more permanent. An Indian ruler accepting the **subsidiary alliance** with the British was now made to keep a large British force within his territory and pay for its maintenance. In lieu of this payment, sometimes a part of the ruler's territory was ceded to the British. Usually, the Indian ruler was also forced to have a British official called the Resident at his court. This system gave the Indian ruler a sense of security against other rulers but in effect it meant loss of his independence.

The first ruler to accept the subsidiary alliance was the Nizam, followed by the Nawab of Awadh. Both the rulers ceded parts of their territories to the British.

In 1799, the British went to war against Tipu. The British feared that French troops might land in support of Tipu. But the French support never came. Tipu was killed fighting and thus his lifelong resistance to the British came to an end. A child of the dynasty which Hyder Ali had overthrown was made the ruler of Mysore. Some of the territories of Mysore were taken over by the British and some by the Nizam. The new Raja of Mysore was made completely dependent upon The British. Carnatic, Tanjore and Surat were also taken over by the British.


Tipu Sultan's gun made in the shape of a tiger

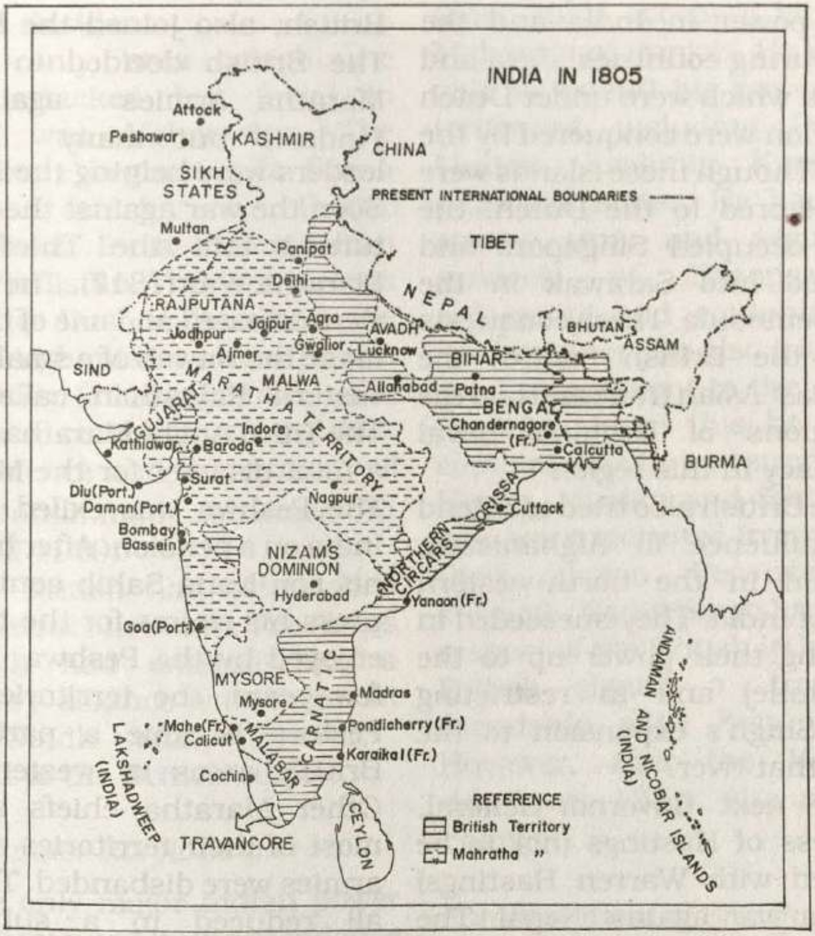
Wellesley next turned his attention to breaking the power of the Marathas. The internal conflicts among the Marathas had



Seven-year old Krishnaraja Wadayar, who was made the ruler of Mysore after the defeat of Tipu Sultan

never ceased. Mahadaji Sindhia and Nana Phadnavis were capable leaders and had been able to sustain Maratha power in spite of dissensions. After their death, the conditions fast deteriorated. In 1801-02, there was a war between the Holkar and the Sindhia for supremacy over the Peshwa. The young Peshwa Baji Rao II sought the protection of the British and entered into a subsidiary alliance with them by the **Treaty of Bassein** (Vasai) in 1803. British troops occupied Poona, the capital of the Peshwas, and drove out the Holkar, who had earlier occupied it. The Sindhia and the Bhonsle now combined, but it was too late. The Maratha armies were defeated both in the south and in the north. Delhi was taken by the British from the control of the Sindhia, and the blind Emperor Shah Alam finally passed into their protection. The Bhonsle and the Sindhia signed treaties with the British and ceded large territories to them. They agreed to the terms of the subsidiary system, and thus British forces and Residents were posted in the Maratha principalities. But factional struggles amongst the Marathas continued and were further accentuated by the interference of British Residents. Thus, the British began to establish their influence over each of the Maratha states.

Holkar was still holding out. The Company's authorities in London were not happy at the heavy expenditure on wars. Wellesley was, therefore, recalled and his successor signed peace with the Holkar. For some years after Wellesley, the British more or less halted their expansion and tried to consolidate their power. However, soon another phase of expansion started.


INDIA IN 1805
PRESENT INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES
Attock
Peshawar
KASHMIR
CHINA
SIKH STATES
Multan
Panipat
TIBET
Delhi
NEPAL
RAJPUTANA
Jaipur
Agra
AVADH
BHUTAN
ASSAM
Jodhpur
Gwalior
Lucknow
Ajmer
BIHAR
SIND
MARATHA TERRITORY
MALWA
Allahabad
Patna
GUJARAT
BENGAL
Chandernagore (Fr.)
Indore
Calcutta
Kathiawar
Baroda
BURMA
Surat
Diu (Port.)
Daman (Port.)
Nagpur
ORISSA
Cuttack
Bombay
Bassein
NIZAM'S DOMINION
NORTHERN CIRCARS
Hyderabad
Yanaon (Fr.)
Goa (Port.)
ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS (INDIA)
MYSORE
CARNATIC
Madras
Mysore
Mahe (Fr.)
Calicut
Pondicherry (Fr.)
LAKSHADWEEP (INDIA)
MALABAR
Karaikal (Fr.)
Cochin
REFERENCE
British Territory
Mahratha "
CEYLON
TRAVANCORE

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The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

British Expansion from 1809 to 1848

The wars between England and France which had started soon after the outbreak of the French Revolution were still going on when Minto was sent as the Governor-General to India. He was instructed to safeguard the British conquests in India, both in the north-west and the south-east. This led to the further expansion of British power in India and the neighbouring countries. Java and Sumatra which were under Dutch occupation were conquered by the British. Though these islands were later restored to the Dutch, the British occupied Singapore and expanded into Sarawak in the Malay peninsula. These conquests helped the British control the south-east Asian trade and laid the foundations of Britain's naval supremacy in this region

The British also tried to extend their influence in Afghanistan, Iran and in the north-western region of India. They succeeded in extending their power up to the river Sutlej and in restricting Ranjit Singh's expansion to the east of that river.

The next Governor-General, Marquess of Hastings (not to be confused with Warren Hastings) waged a war against Nepal. The Nepalese were defeated and had to cede territories to the British. A British Resident was also posted at Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, bands of plunderers, called the Pindaris, had emerged and were carrying on their raids in many parts of the country. Disbanded soldiers of Indian rulers who had entered into subsidiary alliance with the British, also joined the Pindaris. The British decided to use the Maratha armies against the Pindaris but many Maratha leaders were helping the Pindaris. Soon the war against the Pindaris turned into the Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817). The Pindaris were defeated and one of them was made the Nawab of a small state in eastern Rajasthan called Tonk. The Third Anglo-Maratha War was a total disaster for the Marathas. The Peshwa was exiled to north India on a pension. After his death, his son Nana Sahib continued to press his claims for the privileges enjoyed by the Peshwa. Within a few years, the territories of the Peshwa became a part of the British areas in western India. Other Maratha chiefs also lost most of their territories and their armies were disbanded. They were all reduced to a subordinate position under British Residents. Soon after, the Rajput states were also brought under the subsidiary system.

From 1824 to 1826, the British fought a war against the Burmese empire. The Burmese had been extending their influence over Assam. After their defeat, Assam passed into the control of Britain and Burma was forced to open herself to British trade and accept a British Resident.

The only area which the British attacked but failed to conquer was Afghanistan. The British were beginning to fear a Russian attack on British territories in India through Iran and Afghanistan. They sent troops to dislodge Dost Muhammad, the ruler of Afghanistan, from power. In this they failed miserably. The Afghans were able to retain their independence and the dynasty of Dost Muhammad remained in power till 1929.

The British had established their influence in Sindh. The Amirs of Sindh had entered into a subsidiary alliance with them. In 1843, Sindh was, however, annexed to the British empire.

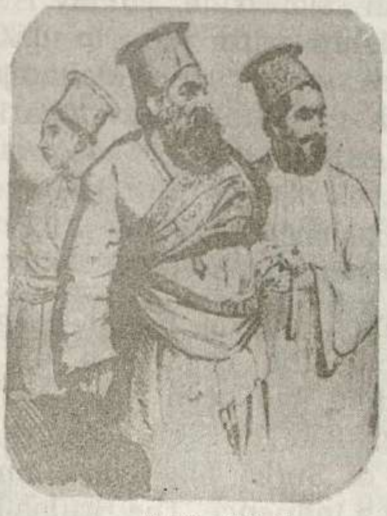
Punjab under Ranjit Singh

The only major Indian power that still retained its independence was Punjab under Ranjit Singh. You have read before that the Sikhs were organised into Misls. Ranjit Singh had come to power in 1792 in a minor Misl. He organised an alliance of the Sikh Misls west of the Sutlej in 1798 and was successful in repelling the invasion of the Afghan ruler Zaman Shah. This success made him a powerful ruler, and in 1801 these Misls accepted him as the Maharaja of Punjab. He was soon able to extend his power to vast territories including Peshawar, Multan, Kashmir, Kangra and other hill states. He had built a strong army and secured the services of Europeans for organising and equipping it on modern lines. He also tried to give good government to the people of Punjab and in this he had the complete loyalty and support of his Hindu, Muslim and Sikh officers who were recruited irrespective of their religion. Because of his strength, Ranjit Singh had won the respect of the British in India. The British signed a treaty of friendship with him in 1809 However, after the Maharaja's death in 1839, the situation changed.

Establishment of British Paramountcy (1848-56)

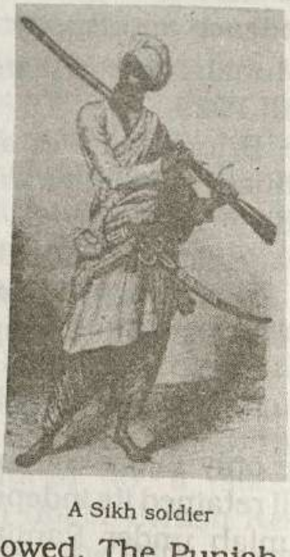
Even during Ranjit Singh's lifetime, the expansion of his kingdom had been restricted by the British. The Sikh states to the east of Sutlej had come under British influence. The British had annexed Sindh in 1843. The British interest in Afghanistan had also increased. Under the circumstances it was inevitable that they would clash with the powerful state of Punjab.

Death of Ranjit Singh was followed by political instability in Punjab. The Sikh elements in the army known as the Khalsa became supreme and began to interfere in the affairs of the state. There were group rivalries and the Khalsa took the role of king makers. The British started mobilizing their forces on the frontiers of Punjab. Dalip Singh, Ranjit Singh's son, had succeeded him but the state was ruled by his mother Rani Jindan with the help of her favourite officers. They, on the one hand, intrigued with the British and on the other incited the Khalsa to attack the British. In 1845, the First Anglo-Sikh War started which ended in the defeat of the Khalsa. Punjab was placed under British protection though Dalip Singh retained his throne. The British made Gulab Singh the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. They also appointed Sikh and British officials to run the administration of Punjab.



Amirs of Sindh

In 1848, there were numerous revolts against the British in Punjab and the Second Anglo-Sikh War followed. The Punjab armies fought bravely but were defeated. Punjab was annexed by the British. Thus the powerful state built by Ranjit Singh came to an end.

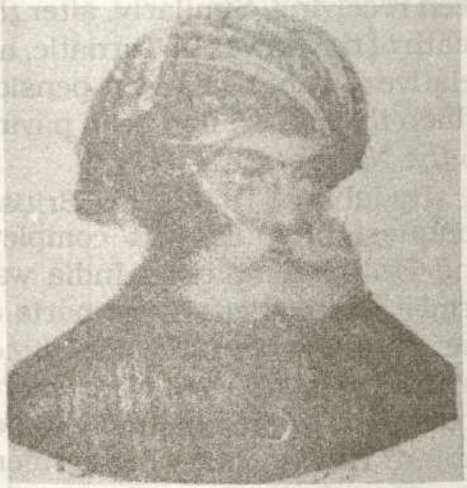


A Sikh soldier

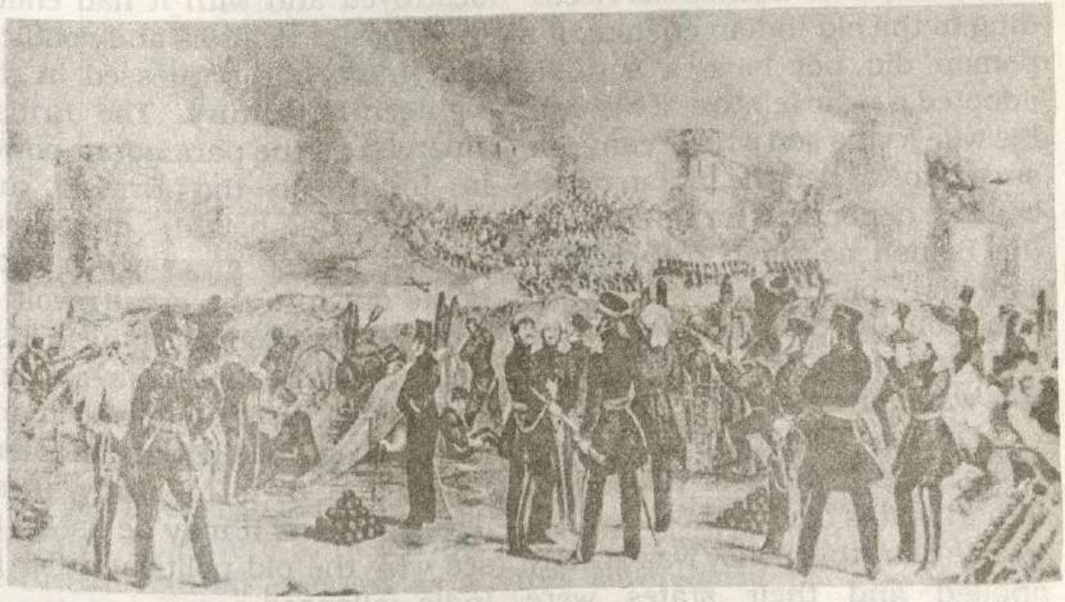
Punjab was annexed when Dalhousie became the Governor-General. During his tenure from

1848 to 1856, the British became the paramount power in India.

The British paramountcy was established by two main methods- by direct annexation and by bringing the Indian states within the subsidiary system which often led to annexation. Punjab and Sindh were examples of outright annexation. In 1856 Awadh was annexed after the last Nawab was forced to abdicate and kept in Calcutta. However, the latter method was more frequently followed. It had many advantages. The Indian rulers paid for the maintenance of British troops and the British did not have to take any responsibility with regard to administration or the problems of law and order within that state. Under this system, the people of the dependent states suffered even



Gulab Singh



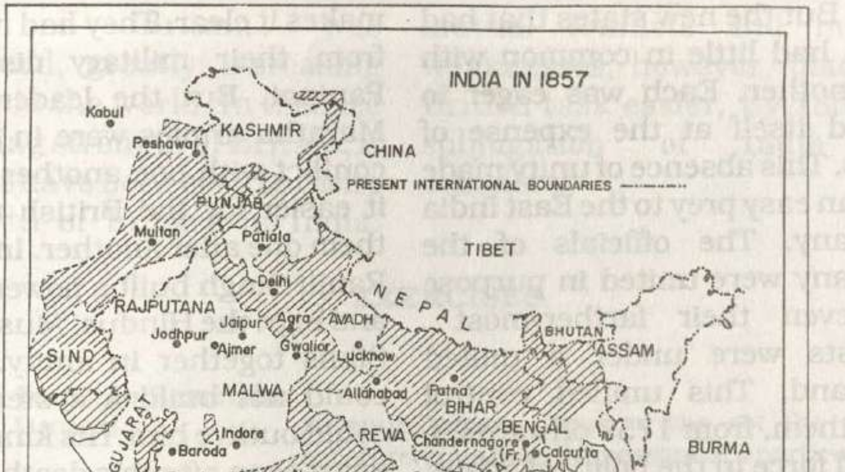
A scene of the Second Anglo-Sikh war

more. Assured of British military support so long as they paid the British, the Indian rulers did not pay any attention to the administration of their states. Peasants were taxed heavily to pay for the increased expenditure on armed forces. Local officials and landlords also made fortunes through extortions. These led to financial crisis and breakdown of law and order. When this happened in a state, the British annexed it. Thus the subsidiary system created conditions for later annexations.

Other excuses for annexation were also found out by the British. One such policy, known as the **Doctrine of Lapse** , became very common under Dalhousie. According to the old Indian custom, if a person did not have a son, he adopted a near relative of his or of his wife as his son who became his successor. When the Indian rulers became dependent on the British, the British acquired the right to sanction or refuse such an adoption. In case of refusal, the territory of the ruler who had no son was annexed by the British.

During Dalhousie's tenure when many rulers of dependent Indian states died without leaving a male heir, this policy was strictly applied and their states were annexed by the British. These included Jhansi, Nagpur and Satara. The adopted son of the Peshwa, Nana Sahib, was refused the pension which the Peshwa had been receiving. Similarly, after the death of the Nawab of Carnatic, his relative did not receive the pension which the British had been paying to the Nawab.

By about 1856, the British conquest of India was complete and British Empire in India was firmly established. Large parts of the country were under direct British rule. There were many areas which were nominally under Indian rulers, but these rulers were completely dependent on the British. The old political order was destroyed and with it had ended the types of rivalries and conflicts that India had witnessed in the eighteenth century. The British emerged as the paramount power in India. As the British rule reached its height, discontent against it also grew which soon broke out into the great revolt of 1857. In the meantime, the British had established a new administrative system and many changes had taken place in India. Before we turn to study these developments, it may be useful to see why the old political order in India collapsed.


INDIA IN 1857
Kabul
Peshawar
KASHMIR
CHINA
PRESENT INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES
PUNJAB
Multan
Patiala
TIBET
Delhi
NEPAL
RAJPUTANA
Jaipur
Agra
AVADH
Jodhpur
Ajmer
Gwalior
Lucknow
BHUTAN
ASSAM
SIND
MALWA
Allahabad
Patna
BIHAR
BENGAL
GUJARAT
Indore
REWA
Chandernagore (Fr.)
Calcutta
BURMA
Baroda
Surat
Nagpur
ORISSA
Diu(Port.)
Daman(Port.)
Cuttack
Bombay
Poona
NIZAM'S DOMNION
NORTHERN CIRCARS
Satara
Hyderabad
Yanaon(Fr.)
Masulipatam
ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS (INDIA)
MYSORE
Mysore
Madras
CARNATIC
Tellicherry(Fr.)
Mahe(Fr.)
Calicut
Pondicherry(Fr.)
LAKSHADWEEP (INDIA)
Karaikal (Fr.)
Cochin
REFERENCE
British Territory
TRAVANCORE
CEYLON

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Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

The spellings of names appearing on this map have been taken from various sources.

The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

Causes of the British Success

As you have seen in Chapter II, the states that were annexed by the British had all emerged as a result of the break-up of the Mughal empire. Even though these states were practically independent, they maintained the fiction of the sovereignty of the Mughal empire. This was demolished when the British took possession of Delhi. But the new states that had arisen had little in common with one another. Each was eager to expand itself at the expense of others. This absence of unity made them an easy prey to the East India Company. The officials of the Company were united in purpose and even their farther-most outposts were under a united command. This unified control made them, from 1757 onwards, a central force in the political affairs of India.

This central force, however, was victorious only when internal weaknesses within a state became acute. Thus, as conditions of disunity emerged in a state, it lost its independence. These conditions were also often created by the British. You have seen the importance of this factor in Bengal earlier in this chapter. This was the policy of **divide and rule** and the British officials practised it with great efficiency and success in relation to other states.

The policy of 'divide and rule', though an important immediate cause, was not the basic cause of the collapse of Indian states. The real cause lay in the incapacity of Indian rulers to devise a stable and efficient political order which could retain the loyalty of the subjects. The case of the Marathas makes it clear. They had recovered from their military disaster at Panipat. But the leaders of the Maratha armies were in constant conflict with one another, making it easier for the British to defeat them one after another. In Punjab, Ranjit Singh built a powerful state and kept the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs together in amity. But he could not build a system which could outlive him. His kingdom fell apart soon after his death, making the British policy of 'divide and rule' easier to succeed. The internal weaknesses and the fear of attack by their neighbours made the rulers of many states such as Hyderabad seek the protection of the British which they offered through the subsidiary system.

These weaknesses of the Indian states were further aggravated by the backwardness of their economy and technology. This backwardness became an increasingly important factor when the Industrial Revolution took place in England. In Warren Hastings' time, the Mysore or the Maratha armies were an equal match for the Company's armies. However, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the British armies had better artillery. As a result of the Industrial Revolution, the entire social and economic system of Britain was transformed, greatly increasing its power in the world. In the face of the rising strength of Britain, it would not have been easy to resist the growth of Empire in India. The Indian states with their mutual conflicts and internal weaknesses, however, made the British task easier. By 1856, the subjugation of India was complete.

EXERCISES

I. Terms to Remember :

IJARADARS :	Revenue-farmers. Persons who got the right to collect revenue from the peasant of a particular area by entering into a contract with the jagirdar of that area whom they paid a fixed sum agreed to in the contract. Often they gave high bids to get the contract and tried to make big profits for themselves. The system of collecting revenue through ijaradars became increasingly common in the 18th century and added to the oppression of the peasantry.
DIWANI :	The revenue-collecting department of the state
SUBSIDIARY SYSTEM :	A system of alliances introduced by the British Governor-General Wellesley through which the British came to control the affairs of the Indian States entering into the alliance without actually annexing them.
DOCTRINE OF LAPSE :	The Doctrine which was used by the British government in India to annex the territories of Indian rulers who died without leaving any natural successors.

II. Answer the following questions.

1. What were the reasons for the conflicts between the English and the French in India in the 18th century ?
2. Why was Siraj-ud-daulah so easily defeated by the English ?
3. What was the role of the house of Jagat Seths in the conflict between the English East India Company and the Nawabs of Bengal ?
4. The English Company had installed Mir Qasim as the Nawab of Bengal Why did they turn against him ?
5. What were the consequences of the Battle of Buxar ?
6. What did the policy of non-intervention in India mean ? Why did the British occasionally follow this policy ?

7. What were the main changes in the political history of the Punjab from the end of the 18th century to 1849 ?
8. Explain the different methods by which the British established and expanded their empire in India.

III. Given below are some statements. Put (√) mark against the correct statements and (X) mark against the wrong ones.

1. European traders came to India to sell their goods and take with them gold and silver from here.
2. The English and the French companies went to war against each other in India only when their respective countries in Europe were at war.
3. The European companies started interfering in the political affairs of India to promote their own interests.
4. Mir Qasim became the Nawab of Bengal after the Battle of Palasi (Plassey).
5. The Mughal Emperor and the Nawabs of Awadh and Bengal signed treaties at Allahabad with the East India Company.

IV. Arrange the following events in chronological order. Grant of Diwani of Bengal to English East India Company; Battle of Plassey; Seven Years War in Europe; Capture of Chandernagor; Defeat of Anwaruddin at Adyar; Recall of Dupleix to France; Battle of Buxar; Death of Siraj-ud-daulah.

V. Things to Do

1. Locate the following places on an outline map of India: Pondicherry, Hyderabad, Madras, Arcot, Calcutta, Buxar, Plassey, Chandernagor Also indicate in which towns Fort St. George and Fort William were located.
2. On an outline map of India, indicate the territories which came under the influence of the English East India Company.
3. The British annexed certain territories to their empire in India. They controlled certain other territories indirectly through the subsidiary alliances with Indian States.

   Make a list of the areas that were under direct British rule in 1818 and those that were under their indirect control. Show these areas on an outline map of India by shading the two types of areas in different colours.

CHAPTER FOUR

Administrative Structure, Policies and Impact of British Rule (1765-1857)

A. The Administrative Structure

YOU have seen above that it took less than a hundred years for the British to become the masters of the whole of India. The territories under direct British rule were divided into three Presidencies—Bengal, Madras and Bombay. The new territories annexed by the British were added to these Presidencies. In 1835, British territory to the west of Bihar was separated from Bengal Presidency and made a separate administrative unit called the North-West provinces. Later, Punjab was made a new unit.

To begin with, the administration of the British territories India was entirely in the hands of the Company. In course of time, however, the British government established its effective control.

Misrule by Company's Officials

The commercial officials of the Company were the earliest British administrative officials also and in the beginning their job was to collect revenue and do a few other civic duties. The officials made a mess of this job. They were ignorant of the problems and methods of Indian administration. But more disastrous was their immense greed for money. For making the Company richer as well as for building up their personal fortunes, the officials practically plundered Bengal and brought it on the verge of ruin. From peasants and zamindars they demanded much more revenue than they could afford to pay. They also forced the local petty traders and artisans to sell their commodities at cheap prices.

Due to these reasons, the people looked upon the new revenue collector with terror coming from outside.

Taking advantage of their position, the Company's officials amassed private wealth. After retirement, they lived a life of luxury in Britain, and were nicknamed as "Nabobs". In India the condition of the common people grew more and more wretched. That they could not save anything to live by in times of distress was proved during the famine of 1770-71. Almost one-third of the population of Bengal fell victim to the famine. But a section of Indians who acted as agents of the Company became affluent.

THE REGULATING ACT, 1773

The chaotic situation brought about by the misgovernment of Bengal forced the British Parliament to enquire into the affairs of the East India Company. This revealed gross malpractices of the senior officials of the Company. The Company was also facing a financial crisis at this time and had applied to the British government for a loan of one million pounds. The latter found it necessary to regulate the activities of the Company in India and for this, the Regulating Act of 1773 was passed. This was the first direct interference made by the British government in the affairs of India. Its purpose was to take a step towards removing the political power from the hands of a trading company. The Company's Directors were asked to lay before the British government all correspondence and documents regarding the civil, military and revenue affairs of the Company.

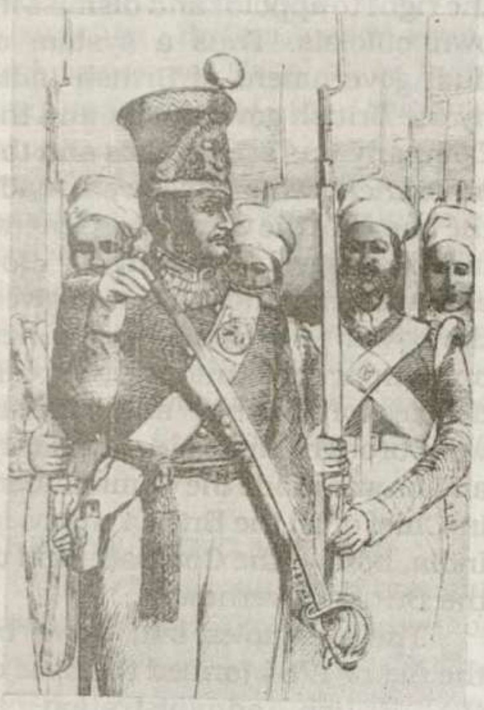
The Act also provided specific measures to set up a new administrative framework. The president of the Company's Calcutta factory, who used to be the Governor of Bengal, was made the Governor-General of all the Indian territories of the Company. The other two governors, of Bombay and Madras, were made subordinate to him. He was to have a Council of four members. For the administration of justice, the Act proposed the setting up of a Supreme Court at Calcutta. In order to stop the malpractices by Company's officials, this Act required every official on his return home, to give a statement of his properties and how they were acquired. The defects of the Regulating Act became clear very soon. There were constant quarrels between Warren

Hastings, the first Governor-General, and the members of his Council. The Supreme Court also could not function smoothly as its jurisdiction and its relations with the Council were not clear. It was also not clear which law– Indian or English– it was to follow. This court had sentenced to death an ex-Diwan of Murshidabad, Maharaja Nand Kumar, a brahman by caste, who was charged with commiting forgery. Capital punishment for forgery had the sanction of British law at that time. But in India a brahman could not be sentenced to death for such an offence. This matter created much sensation in Bengal. Moreover, the control of the British government over the Company remained vague even after the enactment of the Regulating Act.

Pitt's India Act, 1784

To remove the drawbacks mentioned above and to make the administration of the Company's Indian territories efficient and responsible, a series of enquiries were made and measures were taken by the British Parliament during the next decade. Of these the most important one was the Pitt's India Act of 1784, named after William Pitt the Younger, the Prime Minister of Britain at that time. This Act set up a Board of Control in Britain through which the British government could fully control the Company's civil, military and revenue affairs in India. The Company, however, continued to have the monopoly of trade and the right to appoint and dismiss its own officials. Thus a system of dual government of British India by the British government and the Company was set up. This and the other Acts which followed made the hands of the Governor-General increasingly strong for administering India. He was given the power to overrule his Council on important matters. Presidencies of Bombay and Madras were brought under his authority and he was made the Commander-in-Chief of all the British troops in India, both of the Company and of the British government.

The principles laid down by the Act of 1784 formed the base of the British administration in India. From now on the Governor General became, in fact, the real ruler of India functioning under the over-all control of the British Parliament. The agencies through which the Governor-General exercised his power and responsibility were the army, the police, the civil service and the judiciary. Their respective roles were to protect and enlarge the British territories in India, to maintain internal order, to collect revenue, to look after the general administration and to dispense justice to the people.



Indian soldiers of the English East India Company's army

The Indian sepoys formed the bulk of the Company's army. Its size grew along with the British expansion. By the time the conquest of India was completed, the number of sepoys had risen to about 200,000. The army raised by the Company was a disciplined and loyal army. It was regularly paid and thoroughly trained in the use of the latest arms. The soldiers engaged by the Indian rulers did not usually have these facilities. Moreover, one success after another had won for the Company's army considerable amount of prestige which attracted many recruits to it. But all the officers of this army were Europeans. Besides the Company's army, British troops were also stationed in India.

Though the Company's Indian troops earned the reputation of being very efficient, they were just mercenary soldiers of a colonial power. They did not have the pride that enthuses the soldiers of a national army nor were there many avenues of promotion open to them. These factors sometimes provoked them to revolt. The greatest of these revolts took place in 1857 of which you will read in Chapter Five. ·

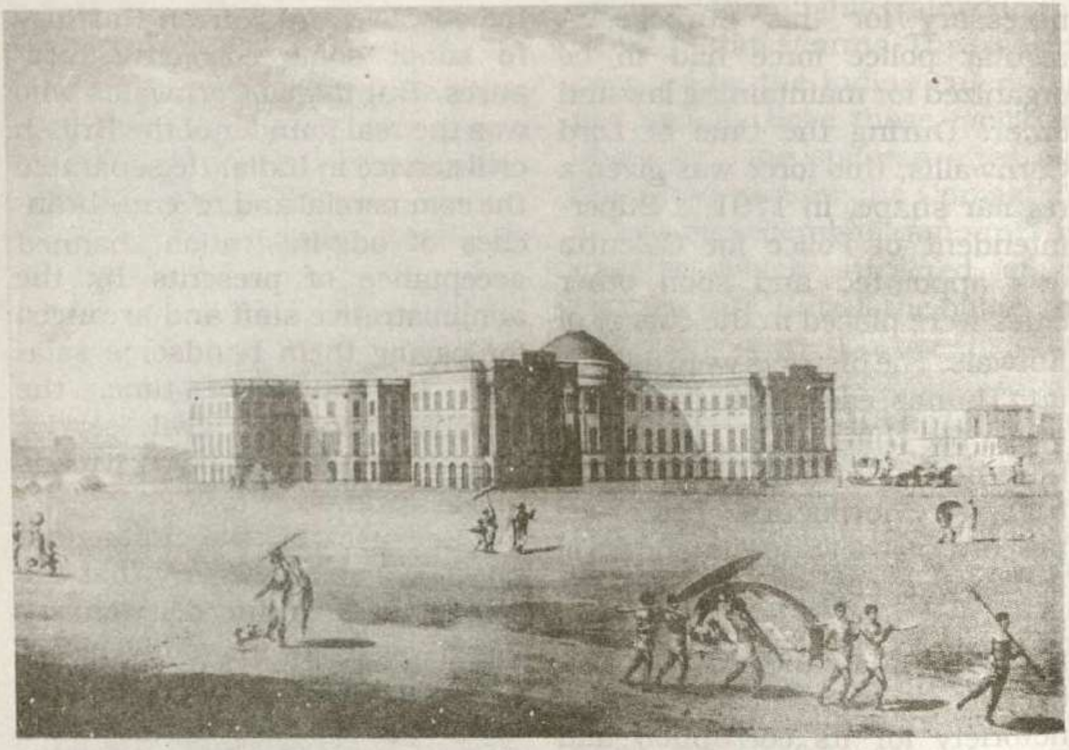
One of the provisions of Pitt's India Act forbade the policy of conquest. But this provision was seldom observed. Fresh conquests were necessary to serve the economic interests of Britain, i.e. wider market for the finished goods coming out of factories and finding new sources for collecting raw materials. Establishing law and order in the conquered territories as early as possible was also necessary for this purpose. A regular police force had to be organized for maintaining law and order. During the time of Lord Cornwallis, this force was given a regular shape. In 1791, a Superintendent of Police for Calcutta was appointed and soon other cities were placed in the charge of Kotwals. The districts were divided into Thanas, each of which was put under the charge of a Daroga. The hereditary village policemen became Chowkidars. Later the post of a District Superintendent of Police was created. Though the police played a vital role in maintaining law and order, it never became popular. It earned much notoriety for its corruption and harassment of the common people. Though it became the symbol of the government authority all over the country, its lower ranks were very poorly paid. As in the army, here also, only the Europeans were eligible for higher posts.

Organization of the Civil Service

The "steel-frame" of the British administration was its civil service. The miserable failure of the Company's commercial officials to do administrative jobs because of their corrupt practices, forced Clive and Warren Hastings to adopt some corrective measures. But it was Cornwallis who was the real founder of the British civil service in India. He separated the commercial and revenue branches of administration, banned acceptance of presents by the administrative staff and arranged for paying them handsome salaries. In course of time, the members of this civil service became the highest paid civilians in the world.

Because of the influential position and high salary that the civil service guaranteed, it was very much coveted by the young men of the British aristocratic families. For a long time, one could enter the civil service only through nomination by the Directors of the Company. This enabled a few influential British families to dominate the Company's civil service. The nomination system continued up to 1853 when a system of open competition through examination was introduced.

Indians were not allowed to enter the civil service. In fact, in 1793 a rule was made that no Indian would be eligible for posts carrying £ 500 or above as salary. Similar restrictions were imposed on Indians in judiciary, engineering and other services. Not only the



Government House, Calcutta

East India Company but all influential sections of British society wanted to benefit from their country's domination over India. They did not like to have Indians as their competitors.

As the responsibilities of the administration grew, the need was felt to train the civil service personnel in the system of government, social conditions, languages and the traditions prevalent in India. To train the young recruits to the civil service in these matters, the College of Fort William was started in Calcutta in 1801. Later on, for the same purpose, the East India College was set up at Haileybury in England.

British India was divided into districts corresponding more or less to the Sarkars of the earlier period. In each district there was a Collector to collect revenue, a Magistrate to maintain law and order and a Judge to administer justice. In general, the Collector was the head of the district. All the posts were held by members of the civil service. The members of the civil service exercised vast power and gradually built up a tradition of hard work. But they never came close to the Indian people in general. The only Indians they knew were their subordinate staff. The main aim of the members of the civil service was to safeguard the British interests. This made it difficult for them to come close to the Indian people.

Administration of Justice

All governments and administrations are based on certain rules and laws which the rulers and the ruled must observe. The governments try to see that these rules and laws are not violated. They establish law courts where violations of laws are examined and the guilty are punished. The British continued for some time with the laws which were then current in India. According to the Indian tradition personal laws, i.e., laws regarding marriage, inheritance, etc., were governed according to customs and scriptures. The revenue and criminal cases were decided by rulers or judges appointed by them. The British thought it wise not to interfere with this system. For a while the English judges of the Supreme Court which was established in 1774 tried to apply English law. But neither the Company's government nor the Indian people liked it. An Act of 1781 restricted the application of English law to Englishmen only. But as conditions changed, the need for definite codes to be applicable to the Indian subjects was felt.

This need was met by the Bengal Regulation of 1793. This Regulation bound the courts to take decisions on the rights of persons and property of the Indians according to the provisions contained in it. To a great extent the Regulation accommodated the personal laws of Hindus and Muslims and stated them in clear terms. It was expected that each individual should know his rights and for that the Regulation was printed and published in English and Indian languages. Thus, the administration of justice based on written laws and regulations in place of vague customs and the will of the ruler was founded. Similar regulations were adopted in other parts of British India. In 1833, the Indian Law Commission was appointed to codify the Indian system of law and court procedure. Courts to administer justice were set up in every district. The establishment of 'rule of law' by framing laws and setting up courts was a new experience for India. The new sovereign whom the Indians called "Company Bahadur" was not a ruler in flesh and blood.

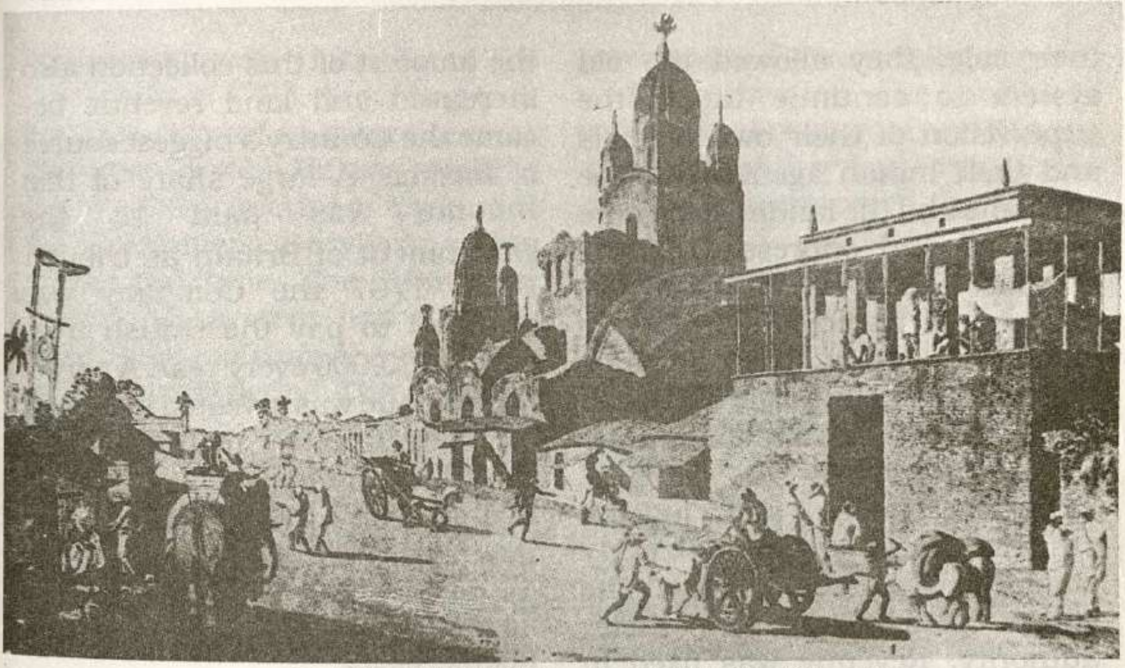
But rule of law' implies that everybody is equal in the eye of law. In British India this was never true. The British and the Indians in British India were neither ruled by the same laws nor tried in the same courts. There were separate courts for the British living in India and only British laws were applied to them.

Growing Control of the British Government

We have stated earlier that Pitt's India Act fixed two masters for India, the Company and the British government. The former's hold gradually weakened during the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1813 the Company lost its monopoly of trade in India which was now open to all British people. By the Charter Act of 1833, the Company lost its monopoly of trade with China which it had enjoyed even after 1813 The Company was also asked to wind up its commercial activities in India. Thus, the commercial functions of the British Indian administration were done away with.

The British government wanted to tighten their control over India and for this they sought to centralize British India's administrative structure. The Charter Act of 1833 gave the Governor-General in-Council (that is the Governor-General along with the members of his Council) full authority over the entire civil and military affairs of the British territories in India. This centralised system of administration established the complete domination of the Governor-General-in-Council over the entire British Indian administration. This remained so as one of the major features of the British rule in India till 1947 when India became free.

In this system of administration, the people of the country had a very minor role. A section of the British administrators admitted that "there is perhaps no example of any conquest in which the natives have been so completely excluded from all share of the Government of their country as in British India". The restrictions on the appointment of Indians to higher posts has already been mentioned. The Charter Act of 1833 however laid down that no Indian would be debarred from



Daniell's etching of Chitpur Road in Calcutta, 18th century

holding any kind of employment under the Company. But very little of this policy was put into practice.

B. British Economic Policies and their Impact

The economic policies followed by the British brought about many changes in the fields of land revenue system, agriculture, trade and industry. These policies were designed to promote their economic interests in India. They brought about many fundamental changes in the life of the Indian people.

Impact on Village Economy

As has been mentioned before, the villages in India were more or less self-sufficient. The village panchayats and the caste panchayats settled disputes that arose among the people in the village. There were very few necessities like salt, fine cloth, metal implements and, for the rich, gold and silver for which the village depended on the outside world.

The peasant families cultivated the land and paid a part of the produce to the rulers as revenue. They enjoyed certain rights over the land and could not be evicted. The revenue was collected by the state, usually through the village headman.

When the British established

their rule, they allowed the old system to continue under the supervision of their own officials and their Indian agents. But the peasants and the landholders were harassed and oppressed by the officials. This earned the Company a very bad name and it had to change its policy. Then began a period of increasing intervention in the affairs of the village community by the outsiders—the revenue collectors, police and judicial officers who were directly employed by the Company. The village panchayats lost their authority. Revenue was fixed in terms of a fixed amount of money whatever be the amount of produce. As the revenue had to be paid in cash, the peasants were forced to raise those crops which could be sold in the market. The profession of the local artisans was also disrupted as cloth and other manufactured goods began to be brought to the villages. Because of these reasons the villages lost their self-sufficiency.

New Systems of Land-Holding and Land Revenue

You have noticed that the collection of revenue was the first privilege that the Company won after the battle of Buxar. With the expansion of British territories, the amount of this collection also increased and land revenue became the Country's biggest source of income. A large share of this income was paid to the government of Britain as tribute. From 1767 the Company was required to pay the British treasury £ 400,000 every year. A part of the revenue was invested in buying commercial goods in India which the Company exported to Britain and other countries. Naturally the new rulers adopted such policies as guaranteed collection of the maximum of revenue amount on a regular basis.

In Warren Hastings' time, the Company introduced in Bengal and Bihar the system of auctioning the right of collecting revenue. The person giving the highest bid was given the right to collect revenue from an area. The new system proved helpful neither to the Company as the actual collection never came up to its expectation nor to the peasants who were fleeced by the new Zamindars.

Permanent Settlement

As the system of auctioning did not bring stability to its income, the Company decided to fix the land revenue of Bengal and Bihar on a permanent basis. The new system, known as the Permanent

Settlement, was introduced by Cornwallis in 1793. According to it, the Zamindar of an estate became its owner as well. He was required to pay a fixed amount of revenue to the government every year within a specified time. The Zamindars under this system had a much better position than the Jagirdars of the Mughal period. The Jagirdars did not own the Jagir and could not sell it. They could not evict the cultivators from the land. They could even be deprived by the government of their Jagirs.

The Permanent Settlement ensured to the Company regular income. It also created a new class of landlords which was loyal to the British. Assured of their ownership, many of these landlords stayed most of the time in towns away from their estates and squeezed their tenants to the limit of the latter's capacities. In 1799, they were empowered to evict the tenants and also to confiscate their property for non-payment of their dues to the landlord. This resulted in making a large section of tenants dispossessed of their land, particularly when crops failed. The number of landless labourers who now form a large section of the village population increased in this way. In the long run, the Permanent Settlement benefited the landlords more than the government. By increasing the area under cultivation, the landlords' collection of rent went up, but the amount that they had to pay to the government remained the same.

Ryotwari and Mahalwari Systems

The Permanent Settlement was extended to Orissa, the coastal districts of Andhra and to Benaras. In Madras Presidency, however, a different kind of settlement was introduced. This is known as the Ryotwari system. In this, direct settlement was made between the government and the *ryot*, that is, the cultivator. The revenue was fixed for a period not exceeding 30 years on the basis of the quality of the soil and the nature of the crop. The government's share was about half of the net value of the crop. Under this system, the position of the cultivator became more secure but the rigid system of revenue collection often forced him into the clutches of the moneylender. Besides, the government itself became a big zamindar and the cultivator was left at the mercy of its officers.

In northern India, the system of land settlement varied according to the local practices. In western Uttar Pradesh, a settlement was made with the village communities which maintained a form of common ownership known as

Bhaichara, or with Mahals which were groups of villages. Hence, it came to be known as the Mahalwari system. The lands of Punjab and Delhi were also settled on this line.

In western India,the British maintained the land system left by the Marathas for some time but gradually modified it mainly on the Ryotwari principles. The village headmen came under the supervision of British district officials who finally swallowed up their functions.

The land laws introduced by the British brought many new factors in Indian society. Land became a saleable property. The system of paying off revenue within the specified time compelled many small landholders to mortgage or to dispose of their property. The new systems have been mainly responsible for the inequitable ownership of land and growth of poverty in the countryside.

But they also helped in an indirect way the Indian agricultural production by relating it to the market. Foodgrains as well as various kinds of cash crops and plantation products became important merchandise both for internal and external markets. For example, the cultivation of poppy was encouraged by the British in India because the British merchants found in China a rich field for smuggling opium. Cotton cultivation in the black soil of the Deccan received a great boost because of its demand outside. Indian jute, tea and coffee slowly built up a profitable export trade. But it was the British commercial houses and their Indian agents who gained most from the trade. The benefits did not reach the Indian cultivators.

Industry and Trade

The Industrial population of India, before modern methods of production were introduced, were of two types, the village artisans and those engaged in specialised crafts in the towns. The ordinary village artisans were the weavers of coarse cloth, carpenters and smiths producing implements, and potters making domestic vessels. Their professions were mainly hereditary. They were also cultivators for a part of the year.

The craftsmen in the towns made goods of utility as well as luxury products and had markets both inside and outside the country.

The cotton textiles formed the chief item among these specialised products. This industry was spread over many parts of the country and its important centres of production were Dhaka, Krishnanagar, Benaras, Lucknow, Agra, Multan, Lahore, Burhanpur, Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad and Madurai. The chief luxury varieties were calico and muslin. No less well known were the textile products made from wool and silk. Metal works of iron and steel, copper and brass, gold and silver were also very famous.

The ship-building industry of India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had earned fame and the most important ship-building yards were at Goa, Surat, Masulipatnam, Satgaon, Dhaka and Chittagong. It has been observed by a scholar of this period that "in ship-building they (Indians) probably taught the English far more than they learnt from them."

The industries in towns were well-organised. The craftsmanship was a hereditary occupation and craftsmen were members of particular sub-castes. In Gujarat, craftsmen were organised into guilds which looked after the quality of work and welfare of their members. On the whole, production was organised by independent craftsmen who worked on order and materials supplied by their customers. The merchants used to advance money to the craftsmen and there was regular patronage from the princes and nobles, particularly for the luxury products.

Decline of Indian Industries

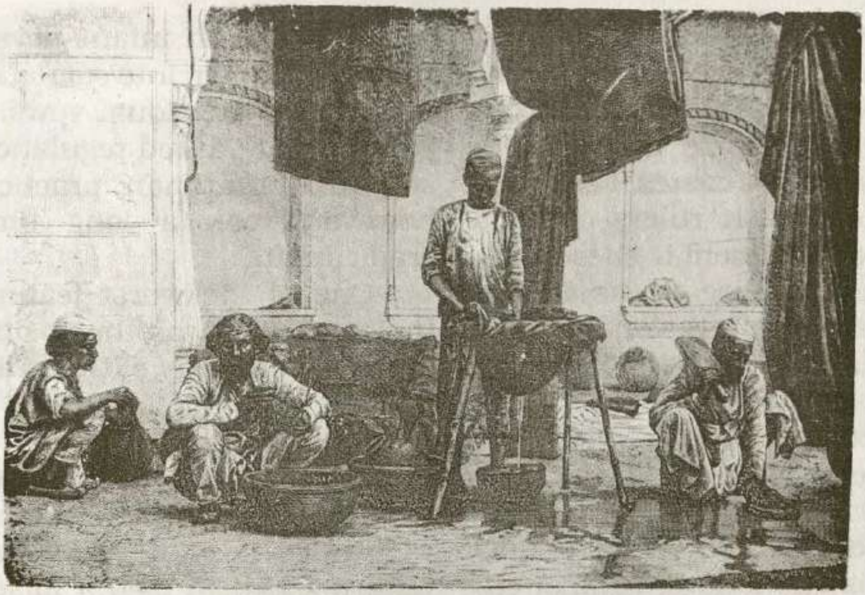
Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, these crafts and industries occupied a very important position in India's economy. But soon after they suffered rapid decline. What were the reasons for this turn of events ?

With the gradual abolition of the princely order in the British territories, demand for finer varieties of Indian industrial products went on declining. Some of the princes and nobles used to retain expert craftsmen on a regular salary. But the British officials who replaced the nobles did not patronise the Indian craftsmen to an equal degree. In fact, it was only in the territories where Indian princes continued to rule that some of the traditional crafts survived. But the major reasons for the decline of the Indian industries lay elsewhere.

India's destiny now lay in the hands of the traders and industrialists of Britain. You may remember that the prime motive of the European traders including those from Britain for coming to India was to participate in and make profits from trade with this country. Though most of India's agricultural and industrial products went to meet the domestic needs, they had a very favourable market abroad. India held an enviable position in the international trade through her export of fine cotton and silk fabrics, spices, indigo, sugar, drugs, precious stones and various works of craftsmanship. In exchange, India received gold and silver.

By the end of the seventeenth century the demand for Indian cotton goods in England went so high that the native textile industry there got crippled. This led to the passing of laws in Britain in the year 1700 and again in 1720 prohibiting the entry of many varieties of the Indian textile products. Similar prohibitory rules were adopted in other countries of Europe also. These restrictions naturally affected the Indian textile industry very adversely but still the export trade in cotton and silk products and other commodities continued. Meanwhile, the cotton industry in England was developing and it made an all out effort to compete with the Indian varieties. For example, Indian Chint—a kind of printed cloth produced in Lucknow—was a favourite with English ladies. By 1754, the English printers were claiming to have excelled the Indian workmanship. The Industrial Revolution and the mechanisation of the English textile industry at this time came to their aid. This made the position of Indian textile exports difficult. By then the Company's rule in India had begun and steps were taken in India and in Britain to promote the interests of the British traders and manufacturers at the expense of Indian industries.

In order to increase the Company's profits, its agents forced the producers of cotton cloth and other commodities to charge for their goods 20 to 40 per cent less than the price these fetched in the open market. When in Dhaka, the biggest centre for producing muslin, the weavers resisted this and demanded higher prices for their goods, force was used to bring them round. A number of weavers were registered in the books of the Company and they were not permitted to work for anyone else. Another oppressive practice used by the Company's officials was to manipulate the prices of raw cotton. Bengal received the finer varieties of cotton from the Deccan. The Company's officials used to make purchase of Deccan cotton in bulk and sold it to the weavers of Bengal at high prices. All these led to the impoverishment of the weaving community, and the cotton textile industry was almost wiped out. In this way, the



India's own cotton textile industry flourished in many parts of the country before the British came and ruined it. The illustration shows the dyeing of cloth in Lucknow in the 19th century.

prosperous industrial province of Bengal was practically ruined by the end of the eighteenth century.

The appearance of the machine-made cloth which was cheaper than hand-made products of India struck the greatest blow to textile industry. Moreover, no duty was charged on British goods coming to India. On the other hand, the Indian exports to Britian were subjected to high import duty. As a result of this policy, India became flooded with British manufactures and ironically cotton textiles formed the major item of import.

The use of India as a market for British manufactures and a source of raw materials for British industries was made easier by improvements in transport and communications. The roads connecting different parts of the country with the ports were improved. River navigation was also improved. The most significant improvement in transport, however, began with the introduction of railways in India. In 1853, the first railway was started. It connected Bombay with Thane. Simultaneously, there were improvements in the postal system. In 1853, the telegraph was also introduced in India.

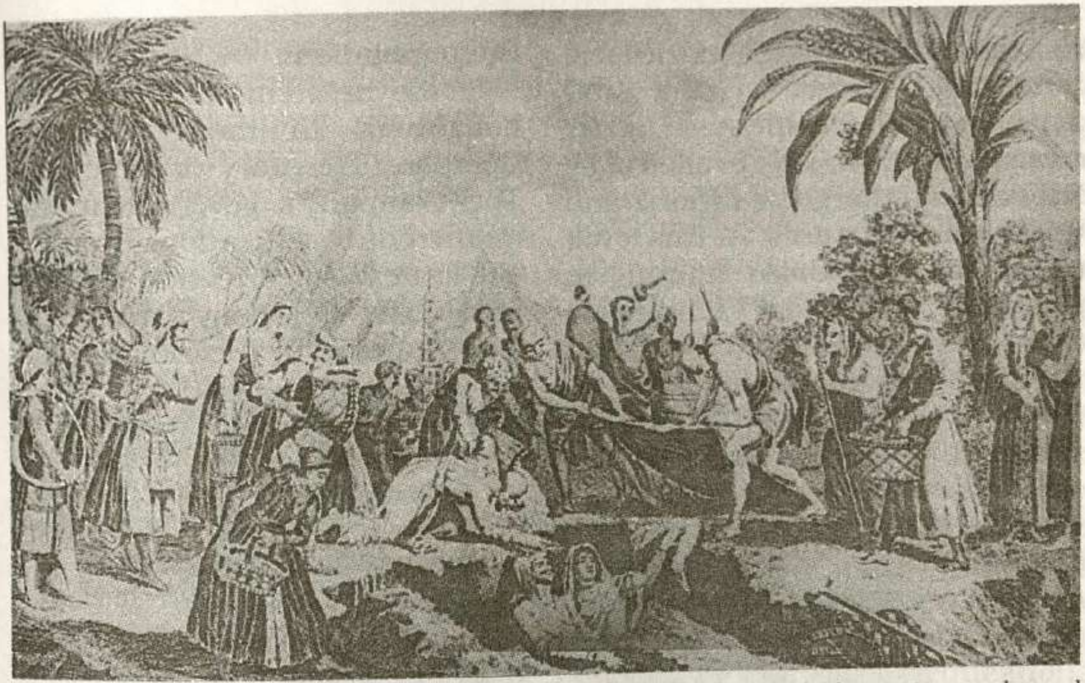
Social Legislation

Many degrading and inhuman customs and practices had grown in Indian society over the years.

The victims of some of the worst practices were children, particularly female children, women, and people belonging to the so-called low castes. For a long time, the British rulers of India remained indifferent to these evils. Their main interest was in the economic exploitation of the country and not in the welfare of the people. During the first half of the nineteenth century, however, efforts were made to eradicate some social evils. Some of the British administrators who came to India during this period were influenced by humanist and radical ideas. It was because of them that some humanitarian measures were introduced in India. A number of Indians, about whom you will read in detail later, also played an important role in this.

At that time, female infanticide– the practice of killing infant girls– was prevalent in some sections of society in some parts of the country. According to the social customs of the time, the marriage of girls had to be arranged within one's own small section of the community. Heavy expenditure had to be incurred by the parents for their daughter's marriage. If daughters remained unmarried, it was considered a matter of disgrace to the family. To avoid this, many infant girls were killed at birth. Sometimes both infant boys and girls were thrown into sacred rivers to honour religious vows. The government passed regulations to stop this inhuman practice. It, however, took a long time to eradicate it.

One of the worst features of Indian society was the position of women. For many of them, 'it was a long tale of suffering and humiliation from birth to death'. They were married off at a very young age. In some sections, the widows could not re-marry and were doomed to lead a miserable life. The most barbarous practice which was prevalent among some so-called upper caste Hindus was the burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her husband. This practice is known as *Satidaha* or simply *Sati*. In Bengal Presidency alone, 8134 cases of *Sati* were recorded from 1815 to 1828. The most significant social legislation of the British government in India was the banning of this barbarous practice in 1829. This happened when William Bentinck was the Governor-General. The powerful campaign launched by Raja Rammohun Roy helped in banning this practice. You will read more about Raja Rammohun Roy later. Through the efforts of another Indian reformer, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, the government passed



The barbarous practice of burning the widow on the pyre of her husband. The practice was banned in 1829.

the Widow Remarriage Act in 1856. This Act made it lawful for a Hindu widow to marry again.

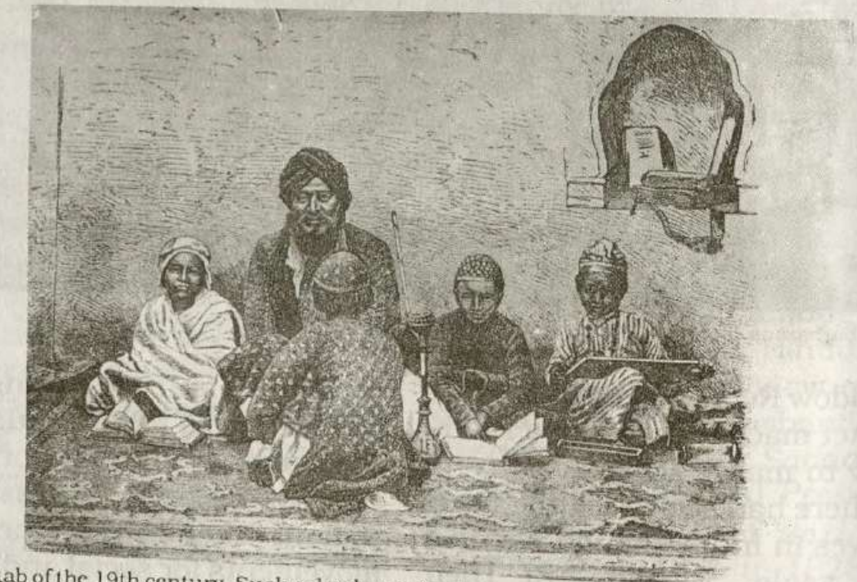
There had been a regular trade of slaves in India, though not on a large scale. Because of their poverty, people were forced to sell their children. Slaves were used mostly for domestic work. Sometimes they were exported to other British colonies. A law was passed in 1843 which made slavery illegal in India.

These measures of social reform, though important, affected a very small section of the Indian population. The govenment, primarily concerned with protecting and promoting British interests, had little enthusiasm for far-reaching social reforms. The effort in this direction was made by Indians themselves who started movements for social and religious reforms and, later, for the freedom of the country.

Beginning of Modern Education

There was a network of elementary schools, Pathshalas and Maktabs as well as Tols and Madrassas for higher education throughout the country when the Company's rule began. At the elementary level the pupils were taught certain passages from religious books written in the local language, letter writing and arithmetical tables. Higher education was mostly availed of by Brahmins among the Hindus and upper class Muslims. At this level, there was specialised training in grammar, classical languages (Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian) and literature, law, logic and, among the science subjects, medicine and astronomy. The courses were based on old texts and their commentaries, and there was little in them that was new. There was no awareness of the vast advances in knowledge that were taking place in some parts of the world and of new ideas. The system, however, did impart literacy to a large part of the population.

This system of education continued in most parts of Company's territory for some time. The Company's government was indifferent to education. Even the old system of education suffered under the Company's rule. The lands granted by the Indian rulers for purposes of education were taken over by the government. As a result, the old system of education declined.



A Maktab of the 19th century. Such schools provided education to a large part of the population before the coming of the British. These schools declined during the British rule and mass education was neglected

A few new types of schools giving instruction in English language and other branches of western learning had started functioning first in the Madras region and then in Bengal and Bombay. These were mostly run by

Christian missionaries. The first educational institutions supported by the government were the Calcutta Madrassa and Benaras Sanskrit College established in 1781 and 1791 respectively. The purpose of opening them was to train Indians so that they could help the Company's British officials in administration. The courses in these institutions were more or less on the old Indian lines. The Fort William College was started in Calcutta in 1801 and a handful of Indian scholars under a British principal were engaged there to acquaint the British civilians with the languages, history, law and customs of India. The first primer in Bengali, an Urdu dictionary and a grammar of Hindi were produced by these scholars.

The first step towards the educational development of India by the British rulers was taken after the Charter Act of 1813. This Act sanctioned one lakh of rupees for purposes of education in India. It, however, took the company, another twenty years to have an educational policy for India. The British administrators as well as some Indians debated over a long period the type of educational system that should be introduced in India. There were two groups, one favouring the traditional learning and the other western learning. Some Indians such as Rammohun Roy advocated western learning. They thought that only through western learning India could make progress. In 1835, the government decided in favour of 'the promotion of European literature and sciences among the natives of India'. Following this decision, English was made the medium of instruction in the few schools and colleges that were opened by the government. Some years later, three universities were set up at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The system of education introduced by the British came to be known as English education.

The demand for English education was growing fast throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. The government's declaration in 1844 that English-knowing Indians would be given preference in government jobs made English education more popular.

The resources allocated to education were extremely meagre. This shows the British rulers' lack of interest in the education of the Indian people. The new educational system was criticised on the ground that it was meant only to produce clerks for the British administration. The education of the masses was neglected. With the decline of the old system and the neglect of elementary education by the British, about 90 per cent of the Indian population remained illiterate. The stress on English also tended to create a gulf between the English-knowing educated Indians and the rest of the Indian population. The British rulers also thought that English-educated Indians would be supporters of the British rule.

In spite of its serious limitations, English education had some positive features. It brought Indians, though in very small numbers, into contact with modern knowledge as well as with modern ideas of liberty, equality, democracy and nationalism. They became aware of the developments in other parts of the world. They began to think of ways and means to modernize India. Some of them became pioneers of movements for social reforms and, later, of nationalism in India.

Thus, the expectation of the British rulers that the English educated Indians would be supporters of British rule were belied.

EXERCISES

I. Terms to Remember :

NABOBS :	The name given to the officials of the East India Company in late 18th century because they followed the style of life of the Indian aristocracy
CHARTER ACTS :	The East India Company was started under a Charter issued by Queen Elizabeth I. The Charter was renewed every 20 years. Through these Charters the British Government defined the powers and position of the company. The Acts passed for this purpose were called the Charter Acts. The last Charter Act was passed in 1853.
PERMANENT SETTLEMENT :	It was a system of revenue collection introduced in Bengal and Bihar by Cornwallis in 1793. According to it the zamindars got hereditary rights over land on the condition that they pay a fixed amount of revenue to the State.

RYOTWARI SYSTEM : This was another system of land revenue which was introduced in Madras and Bombay Presidencies. According to this system, the government made settlements with the cultivators for a specific period (30 years) during which the cultivator had to pay 50 per cent of the produce to the government. The settlement was to be revised after the stipulated period.

II. Answer the following questions.

1. What were the drawbacks in the Regulating Act of 1773 which the Pitt's India Act sought to remove ?
2. Trace the development of judicial administration from 1774 to 1856.
3. What were the chief characteristics of the Charter Act of 1833 ?
4. What was the position of an Indian in the army and the civil services of the British government in India up to 1856 ?
5. In what way did the village lose its compactness and self-governing traditions after the establishment of the Company's rule ?
6. What was the difference between the nature of Zamindari introduced by Warren Hastings and the one adopted by the Mughals ?
7. How did the Permanent Settlement benefit landlords more than the government ?
8. How did the land laws introduced by the British affect the economic life of the people of the country ?
9. In what ways were the indigenous industries affected by the industrial policy of the British government ?
10. Which social class emerged as a result of changes in the economic and administrative systems of the country ? What were the characteristics of this class ?

III. In the following statements are given some aspects of the land revenue system introduced by the British in India. Against the statement write

A if it pertains to the Permanent Settlement
B if it pertains to the Ryotwari System
C if it pertains to the Mahalwari System

1. The intermediary between the government and the cultivator was removed.
2. The groups of villages remained under the old landlords.
3. The zamindars were given hereditary rights on the lands.
4. The share of the middle man was fixed permanently.

IV. Given below are some statements relating to the administrative system from 1765 to 1856. Put (√) mark against the correct statements and (X) mark against the wrong ones.

1. The British government interfered in the activities of the East India Company directly for the first time in 1773.
2. The Act of 1773 made the Governor-General all powerful.
3. The Company's powers for administering the territories conquered by the British in India were increased by the Pitt's India Act.
4. The British followed faithfully all the provisions of Pitt's India Act with regard to the extension of British conquest in India.
5. Establishment of the 'rule of law' was a significant contribution of the British administration of India.
6. The British administrative system in India was designed primarily to promote the welfare of the Indian people.
7. The Indians employed by the British in the army and the civil services enjoyed equal rights with the British.
8. With the Charter Act or 1833 the British administration in India became more centralized.

V. Things to do

1. Draw a flow chart of the judicial system introduced by the British in India.
2. Draw a comparative chart of the various land revenue systems in India introduced by the British and the system prevalent in the previous period showing the position of the zamindar, the position of the tenant, the position of the government, the procedures of revenue collection, and the share of the government as revenue.
3. Draw a time-line and plot on it the passing of the following Acts:
   (i) The Regulating Act, 1773
   (ii) The Pitt's India Act, 1784
   (iii) The Bengal Regulation Act, 1793
   (iv) The Charter Act, 1813
   (v) The Charter Act, 1833

CHAPTER FIVE

Revolts against British Rule

YOU have seen before that the British conquest of India was nearly complete by 1856. The process of British conquest was not a smooth one. There was hardly a year during this period when there was no revolt against the British in one part of the country or the other. The mightiest of these revolts broke out in 1857, which shook the very foundations of the British rule in India.

Early Revolts

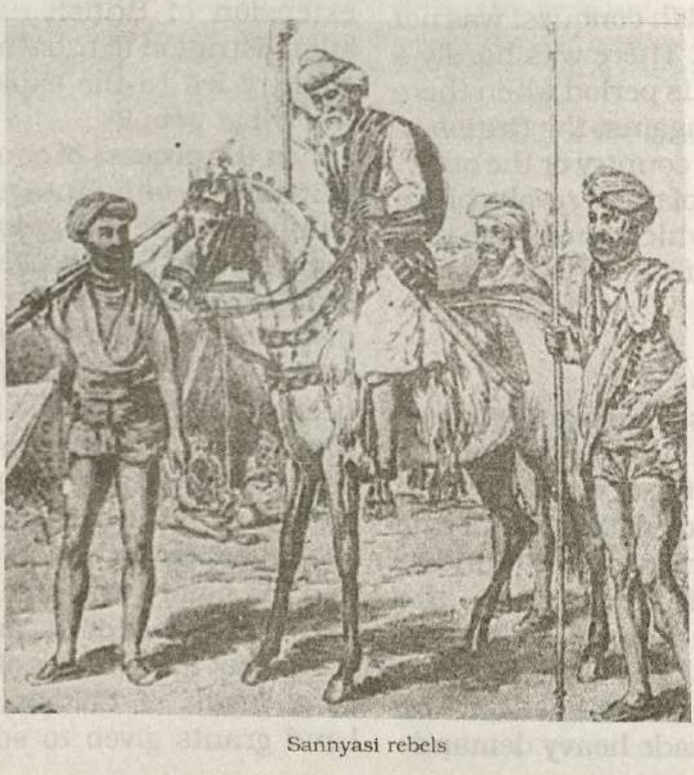
The British rule antagonized the people in every part of the country to which it was extended. The initial period of the British rule in India was one of naked plunder. This was followed by the establishment of a regular system of exploitation. The expolitation of the peasantry was intensified. The government made heavy demands on the Zamindars and chiefs, and their failure to meet these demands led to their dispossession. The extension of British control and administration to tribal areas of the country led to the exploitation of the tribal people.

In the process of conquest, the British not only antagonized the rulers whose kingdoms were annexed and their nobles, but also a large number of other people. The disbanded soldiers of the armies of Indian rulers whose states had been taken over by the British, or who had entered into subsidiary alliance with the British, the craftsmen who produced their goods mainly for use by the ruler and his family, the officials of the annexed kingdoms and many others lost their means of livelihood as a result of British conquest. Land grants given to scholars by

Indian rulers were also withdrawn by the British and they were left without any means of support. There were scores of revolts between 1765 and 1856 in different parts of the country. Many of these were revolts by peasants and tribal people. There were others led by dispossessed rulers and Zamindars and chiefs. There were also mutinies by sepoys of the Company's army. Many of these revolts were joined by the disbanded soldiers of the armies of former rulers.

The first major revolt broke out soon after the British conquest of Bengal. It was led by Sanyasis and Fakirs and spread to many areas of eastern India. Most of these rebels were peasants who formed their armies, sometimes 50,000 strong, and went around as pilgrims. The Company's troops sent to suppress them met with defeat. It took the British about thirty years to put an end to this revolt.

There were many other peasant revolts in different parts of the country. Some of these revolts were led by leaders of religious reform movements. For example, the revolt of the Faraizis who were followers of a Muslim religious

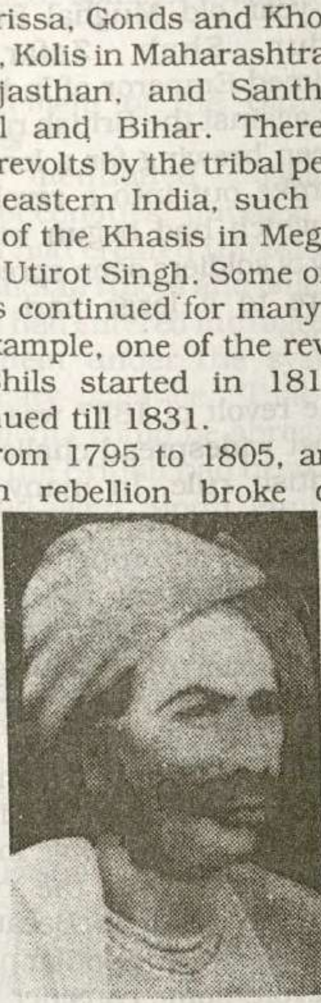


Sannyasi rebels

movement was directed against the oppression of the peasants by Zamindars and the British.

There were a number of tribal revolts during this period. Some of the powerful ones among these were the revolts of the Bhils in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, Kols in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Gonds and Khonds in Orissa, Kolis in Maharashtra, Mers in Rajasthan, and Santhals in Bengal and Bihar. There were many revolts by the tribal people of north-eastern India, such as the revolt of the Khasis in Meghalaya led by Utirot Singh. Some of these revolts continued for many years. For example, one of the revolts of the Bhils started in 1817 and continued till 1831.

From 1795 to 1805, an anti-British rebellion broke out in southern parts of the country. Some historians have called it the first war of Indian independence. The rebellion was led by the Zamindars, or *Poligars* as they were called in some parts of southern India. While most of the princes in this region had submitted to the British, the Poligars, with the support of the people, rose in revolt. Some of the important leaders of this rebellion were Marudu Pandyan,Kattabomman and Pyche Raja. They belonged to different parts of southern India and succeeded in mobilizing rebel forces from all parts of the region for fighting against the British. There were revolts by Zamindars and chiefs in many other parts of the country but most of these were localized and relatively easy to suppress.



Surendra Sai, leader of a number of anti-British revolts in Sambalpur, Orissa.

There were mutinies by the sepoys of the Company's army. The most notable of these were the Vellore Mutiny in 1806 and the Barrackpore Mutiny in 1824. After the defeat and death of Tipu Sultan, his sons had been settled by the British in Vellore. Their presence in Vellore was a source of inspiration to the sepoys stationed there. The mutiny was suppressed by troops sent from Arcot. While 350 sepoys were killed and 500 taken prisoner, 117 British soldiers were killed in the mutiny. The mutiny at Barrackpore by the 47th Native Infantry caused much alarm to the British government. The mutiny was brutally suppressed and hundreds of sepoys were sentenced to death.

Another powerful revolt during this period was that of the Wahabis, the followers of a Muslim sect founded by Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi. The Wahabis had a large following among the peasants and craftsmen of Bengal and Bihar. They urged the people to join in a holy war to overthrow the British rule. The anti-British activities of the Wahabis continued from 1830 till after the revolt of 1857.

These and many other anti-British revolts took place in different parts of India during the hundred years since the battle of Palasi. Most of these revolts were, however, localized occurrences. Even though it took the British a long time to suppress some of them, they did not pose a serious danger to the British rule in India. The discontent against the British rule, however, continued to grow and culminated in the mighty revolt of 1857.

Revolt of 1857

The year 1857 was an eventful year in the history of the Indian people. It was in that year that the great armed uprising took place against the British rule in India. It began on 10 May 1857 at Meerut with the mutiny of Indian soldiers or 'sepoys', as the British used to call them. Next day these soldiers marched into Delhi where they were joined by the soldiers stationed at Delhi. The city of Delhi passed into their hands and the eighty-year old Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar was proclaimed Emperor of India. The unrest against the British rule that had been brewing for a long time now broke out into a revolt. The revolt which had begun with the mutiny of soldiers soon spread like wild fire to a large part of the country.

The revolt of 1857 was by far the most widespread challenge to the British rule. In many of its aspects, it was unprecedented in Indian history. It brought together soldiers of different regions and many rulers and chiefs of different states and principalities to fight for the common aim of overthrowing the British rule. Many other sections of Indian society—landlords, peasants, artisans, scholars—joined the revolt, making common cause with the rulers, chiefs and the soldiers. Because of the widespread and popular nature of the revolt, some consider it the first Indian war of independence.

Discontent Against the British Rule

The revolt was caused by widespread discontent that the British policies in India had created. You have read about these policies as well as about some causes of the discontent. You will read about some of these in detail now.

Displacement of the Old Ruling Sections

As mentioned earlier, the policy of conquest pursued by the British had created unrest among many Indian rulers and chiefs. The British had entered into agreement with them under the system of subsidiary alliance. That these agreements could be abrogated at will by the British had been shown time and again. Sindh, Punjab and Awadh were annexed. The vigorous application of the Doctrine of lapse by Dalhousie added to the discontent which the annexations had already caused. In 1854, Jhansi was annexed when Dalhousie refused to recognise the adopted son of the deceased Raja as his successor. Earlier in 1851 when Peshwa Baji Rao II died, his adopted son Nana Sahib was refused the pension that the Peshwa had been getting. The Mughal Emperor himself was told that his successors would not be regarded as kings. These actions created unrest among the ruling families who had lost their power and put fear in others that a similar fate awaited them.

The British also followed a policy of destroying the power of the nobles and zamindars in the territories they had annexed. Many of them were deprived of their lands. Under the new land revenue system introduced by the British, the old land-owning families were displaced. With annexation, the existing administrative machinery was abolished, throwing out of employment all those persons who had been part of the old administrative system. You have already read that the annexations affected not merely the rulers but thousands of other people such as soldiers, craftsmen and scholars.

Ruination of Peasants and Artisans

The condition of the peasants had become worse under the land systems introduced by the British. The displacement of the old Zamindars did not lead to any improvement in the lot of the peasants. The demand for revenue in many cases was increased, adding to their misery. They continued to have respect for their old rulers and Zamindars. The old handicrafts had been ruined with the influx of British manufactured goods into India. The suffering peasantry and artisans plunged themselves into the battle to overthrow the British rule.

Fear of Loss of Religion and Caste

The British policy and attitude had created a fear among the people that the British government was determined to destroy their religion and culture and convert them to Christianity. Some European missionaries openly decried Hinduism and Islam and the customs of the people. Some of the social reform measures of the British government added to these fears. Sati had been abolished. The British often ignored caste rules, for example, in the army, in prisons and railway coaches. The new educational institutions, many of which were started by Christian missionaries, were looked upon with suspicion. As these policies were being practised by rulers who were foreigners, they were all the more unacceptable to the people. Thus many people were led to revolt against the British rule in the name of their religion. Many Maulvis had already given the call of a 'holy war' or Jihad against the British. The British government also paid scant regard to the religious beliefs of the people. This deeply offended the people. The fear of loss of religion ultimately proved to be the immediate cause of the outbreak of the revolt.

Grievances of the Indian Soldiers

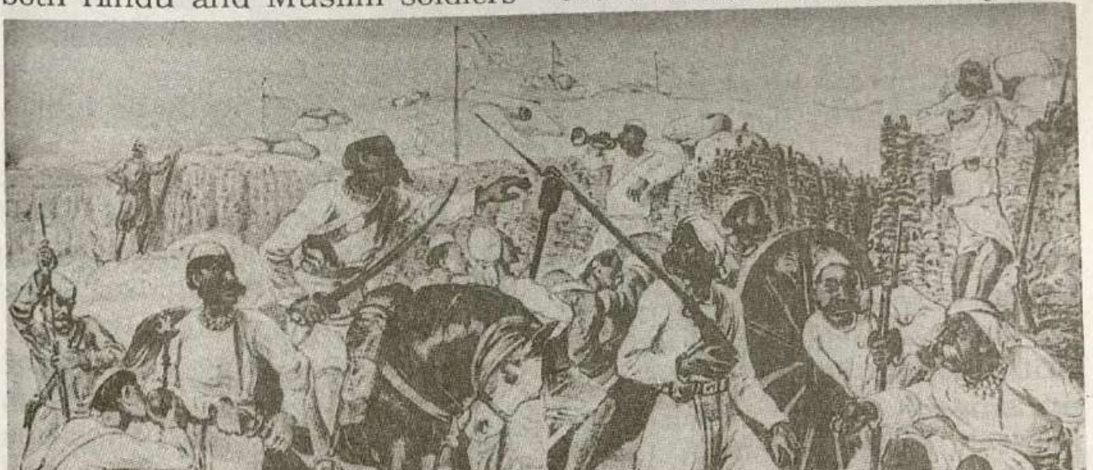
The rising discontent in the country was bound to influence the Indian soldiers who formed seven-eighth of the British government's troops in India. They felt the injustices which the old ruling families in India had been suffering. The increased misery which the common people had to suffer affected the soldiers directly as they were part and parcel of Indian society. Besides, the Indian soldiers had their own specific grievances because of which they became the pioneers of the revolt.

The Indian soldiers could not hope to rise in the hierarchy of the army as the avenues of promotion were closed to them. The higher posts in the army were reserved for European officers. There was great disparity between the salaries of Indian and European soldiers. The Indian soldiers were treated by their European officers with contempt. They were given an extra allowance when they were sent to war. When a war was over and the territory they had helped to conquer was annexed, the allowance was withdrawn. The offence caused to their religious sentiments aggravated their resentment and created an explosive situation. They were sent to fight outside India across the seas, which was repugnant to the religious beliefs of the Hindus. As with other Indians, a conviction grew among the Indian soldiers that their religion was in danger.

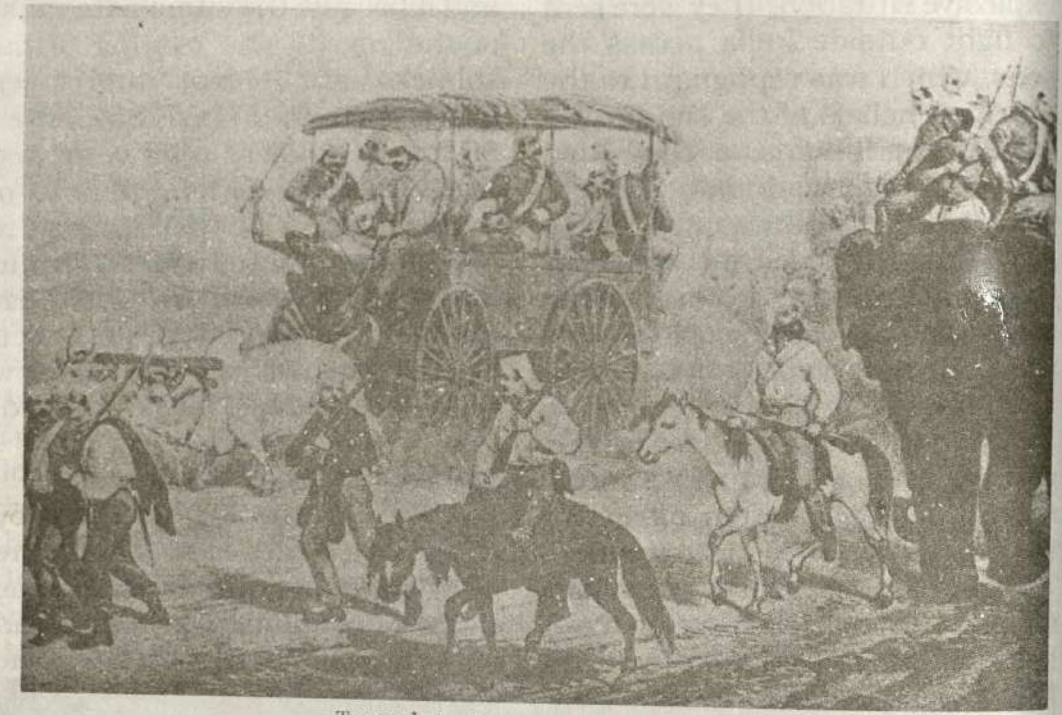
Thus, the resentment against the foreign rule was growing among many sections of the people. At this time, a new type of rifle was introduced. Its cartridges were smeared with cows' and pigs' fat as grease, and the paper covering them had to be bitten off before they could be loaded into the rifle. The use of these greased cartridges offended the religious sentiments of both Hindu and Muslim soldiers and it became the immediate cause of the revolt. The mutiny of the soldiers at Meerut had been sparked off on 9 May 1857, when 85 Indian soldiers were convicted and sentenced to long periods of imprisonment for their refusal to accept the greased cartridges. In Barrackpore two months earlier, Mangal Pandey had rebelled against the introduction of the new cartridges and had been executed.

Main Centres of the Revolt

With the capture of Delhi by the rebel forces and the proclamation of Bahadur Shah as Emperor of India, the revolt spread over a wide area in the country. The



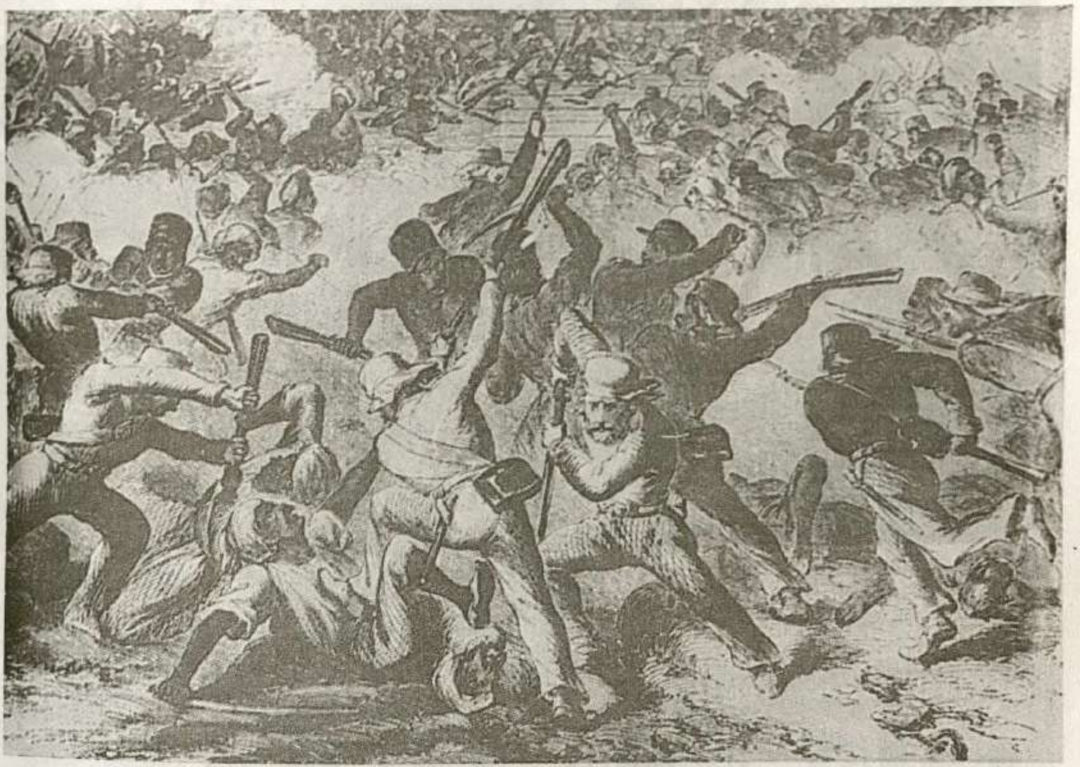
Rebel soldiers



Troops being transported in a bullock cart

Mughal Emperor, who had actually been a weak ruler with little powers, suddenly became the rallying point of all those who wanted to put an end to foreign rule. Even in regions where there was no large-scale uprising, unrest prevailed, causing panic in the British ruling circles. There were uprisings in Assam, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Sindh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Hyderabad, Punjab and Bengal. At some of these places, the risings were localized or confined to army barracks and were easily suppressed. At some places the British had disarmed the Indian soldiers as a precaution.

The areas where the uprising was most widespread were Delhi, Awadh, Rohilkhand, Bundelkhand, the areas around Allahabad, Agra and Meerut, and western Bihar. In these regions large masses of civilian population participated in the revolt and the most ferocious battles were fought. In Bihar, the rebel forces commanded by Kunwar Singh freed parts of Bihar and came to the help of the rebels in Lucknow and Kanpur. In Delhi, the chief commander of the troops was Bakht Khan. In Kanpur, Nana

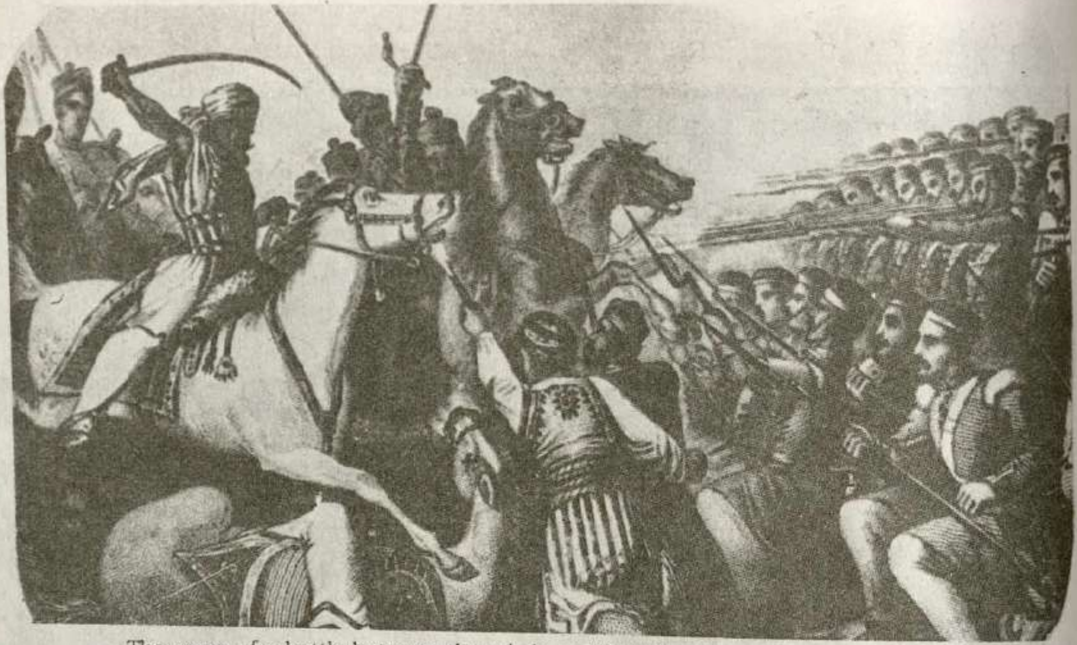


The scene of a battle between rebels and British soldiers

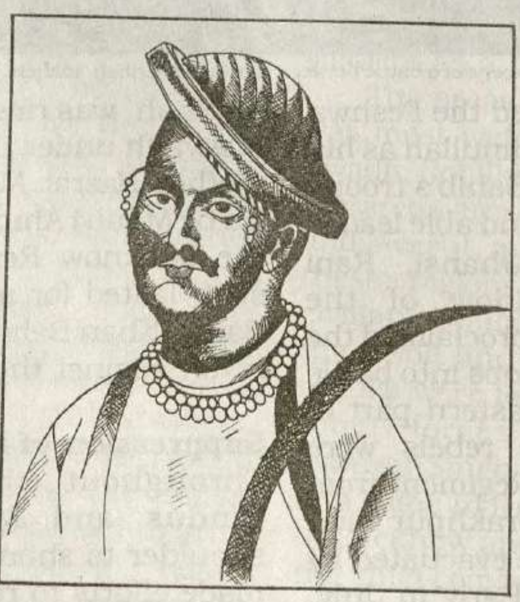
Sahib was proclaimed the Peshwa by the rebels with Azimullah as his chief adviser. Nana Sahib's troops were led by a brave and able leader Tantia Tope. In Jhansi, Rani Lakshmi Bai, widow of the deceased Raja, was proclaimed the ruler and led her troops into battle heroically. In the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh the rebels were joined by the Sikh Regiment from Ludhiana, and Gorakhpur and Azamgarh had to be evacuated by the British troops. Early in July, Birjis Qadr, the young son of Wajid Ali Shah, was raised to the throne of Awadh under the regency of his mother Hazrat Mahal. The rebels led by Maulvi Ahmadullah besieged the Lucknow Residency and the siege lasted for many months. In Bareli, Khan Bahadur Khan led the revolt against the British.

Suppression of the Revolt

Throughout the revolt, the Hindus and Muslims fought shoulder to shoulder. The British made efforts to rouse Hindus and Muslims against each other. They,

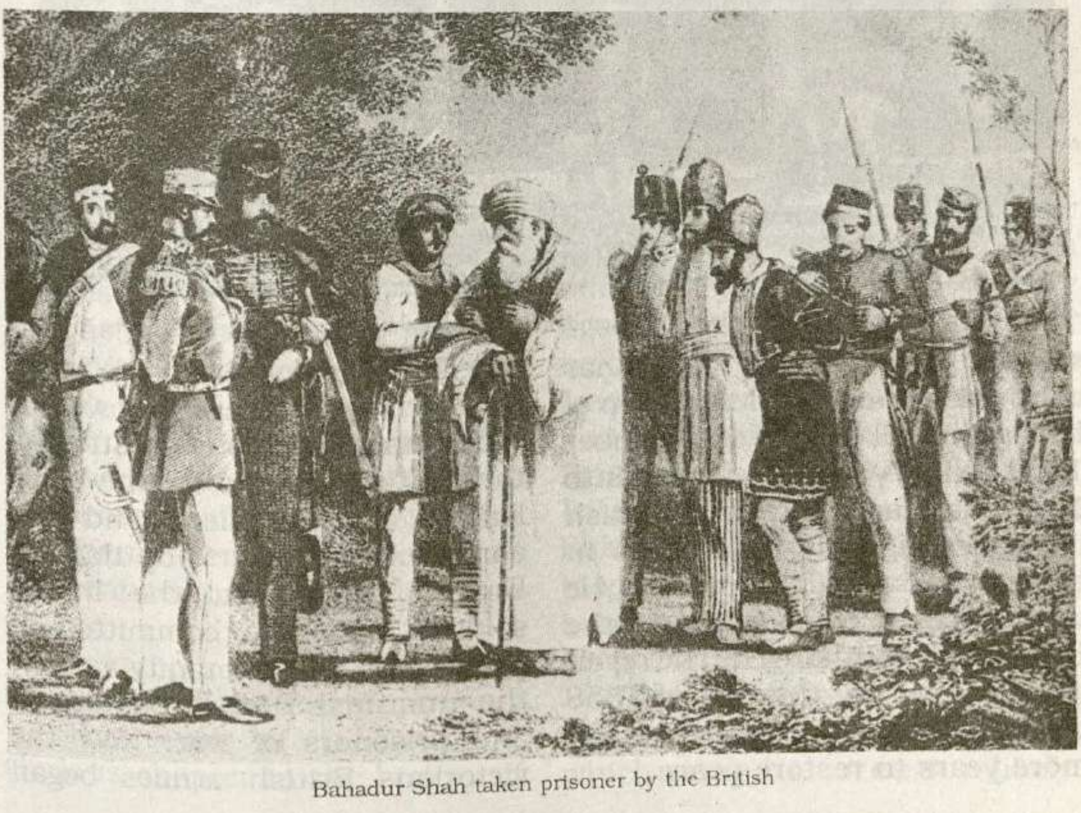


The scene of a battle between the rebels and British soldiers near Kanpur



Nana Sahib

for example, sanctioned Rs. 50,000 to be spent in Bareli to attempt to rouse the Hindus there against the rebels led by Khan Bahadur Khan. But all such attempts failed. The rebel leaders recognized Bahadur Shah as the rightful Emperor of India. He had emerged as the symbol of unity of all those who were fighting to overthrow the foreign rule. However, in spite of the widespread nature of the revolt, within a little over a year it was suppressed. Delhi was recaptured by the British in September 1857. Bahadur Shah was taken prisoner. He was tried and exiled to Rangoon in Burma where he died in 1862. Three of his sons, who also had been captured, were shot dead at the Khuni Darwaza at Delhi. In September 1858, Lucknow fell to British troops and Begum Hazrat Mahal, refusing to surrender, escaped to Nepal. Rani Laxmi Bai, who has become famous as the Rani of Jhansi, was driven out of Jhansi. With the help of Tantia Tope, she captured Gwalior and was killed there fighting in June 1858. Kunwar Singh died in April 1858 after sustaining a fatal

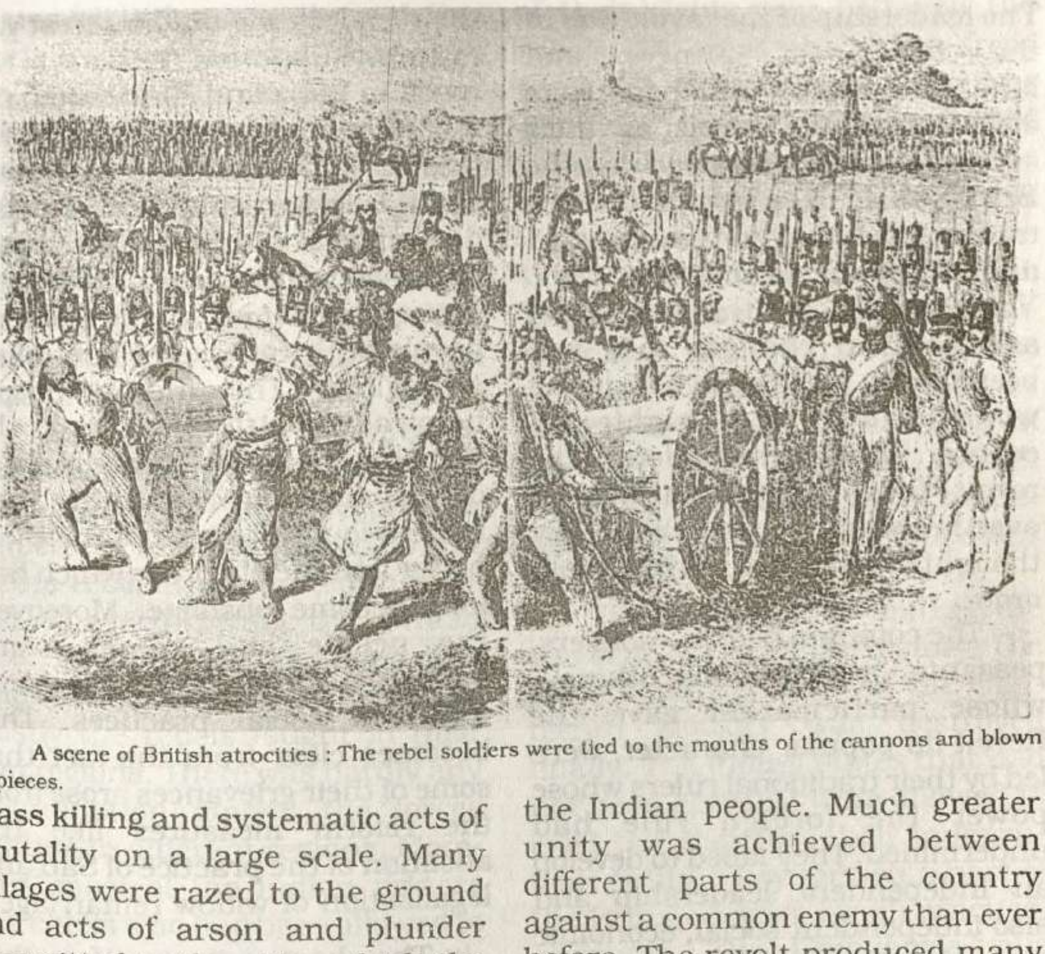


Bahadur Shah taken prisoner by the British

Photograph showing the interior of Sikander Bagh, Lucknow, after it was captured by the British

wound. The fighting in Bihar continued under the leadership of his brother till the end of December 1859. Nana Sahib escaped into Nepal. Tantia Tope kept the British troops engaged for two years in central India and Rajputana. He was betrayed by a friend to the British and was hanged. The revolt was crushed by the end of 1858 though it took the British many more years to restore peace.

The suppression of the revolt was accompanied and followed by inhuman atrocities committed by the British troops on the rebel leaders and soldiers and the common civilian population. During the revolt, the Indian soldiers also had committed at places acts of inhumanity against the unarmed British population and prisoners of war. Now the victorious British armies began



A scene of British atrocities : The rebel soldiers were tied to the mouths of the cannons and blown to pieces.

mass killing and systematic acts of brutality on a large scale. Many villages were razed to the ground and acts of arson and plunder committed in the cities which the British troops captured from the rebels. It has been estimated that in Awadh alone about 150,000 people were killed. Rebels in large numbers were executed and inhuman tortures were inflicted on others.

Character of the Revolt

The revolt of 1857 was a glorious chapter in the history of the Indian people. Much greater unity was achieved between different parts of the country against a common enemy than ever before. The revolt produced many leaders and soldiers whose heroism and bravery made them legendary figures. The heroes like Rani Lakshmi Bai, Tantia Tope and Bakht Khan became a source of inspiration and patriotism to the succeeding generations of Indian people in their fight for freedom.

The revolt, however, had certain basic internal weaknesses which made its success unlikely.

The leadership of the revolt was in the hands of princes and landlords. Many of them were drawn into the revolt as their survival was threatened by the British rule. They represented the traditional Indian political system and still clung to their old ideas. You have read of the vast social and political changes that had been taking place elsewhere in the world since the eighteenth century. Though the leaders of the revolt fought with the aim of overthrowing foreign rule, they thought of replacing it with the old order.

The common people— soldiers, peasants, artisans and others— whose participation gave the Revolt its popular character, were led by their traditional rulers whose power the foreign rule had undermined. They failed to develop an independent leadership and also independent social, economic and political aims of their own. In Europe, as you know, new movements of democracy, nationalism and social equality had been gaining strength. In Britain itself, the common people, including industrial workers who had emerged as a new social class, had organised themselves and were demanding equal political rights for all citizens and abolition of inequalities in society. Many of their leaders, it would interest you to know, supported the aims of the revolt in India and condemned the atrocities committed by the British troops on the Indian people. It was their view that the British domination of India benefited only the small upper sections of British society against whom the common people of Britain were themselves struggling. The Indian people heroically battling against the British were not yet aware of these developments in the world. Their leaders fought to restore their lost power and the old order which had long become obsolete. Moreover, the people still valued some backward ideas as well as some inhuman social practices. This becomes clear from the fact that some of their grievances arose from the reform measures like the abolition of the practice of Sati and legalization of widow remarriage.

The basic reason for this situation was that no such groups had emerged in society as would fight for radical changes in social and economic life, and cement the bonds of national unity among the people. These groups had just started emerging in some parts of India. They were, however, still weak, though they had started working for reforms in society. When the revolt broke out, these groups felt little sympathy with the rebels as they believed that only the British rule could reform Indian society and modernize it. These hopes were, however, largely belied. In the years after the revolt, the Indian national movement started with a view to liberating India from foreign rule and to reconstruct the Indian society.

There were other weaknesses from which the revolt suffered. The Mughal Emperor was accepted as Emperor of India by the rebels and all the rebels were united in their aim of overthrowing the British rule. But, in practice, sufficient amount of unity was not achieved. Mostly the rebels fought in their own regions. There was hardly any co-ordination among the forces fighting in different regions. Moreover, most of the Indian princes and chiefs who had been allowed to continue by the British, sided with the British during the revolt. Most of the old rulers and chiefs who fought in the revolt were those who had been deprived of their territories. During the revolt itself some of them started negotiations with the British for the restoration of their rights and betrayed the rebels. In areas that were freed from the British, very little was done for introducing good and efficient administration. The discontent against the British rule was not very intense everywhere. In Punjab, for example, the British had established an orderly administration after years of war. The people there were not as dissatisfied as in other parts of northern India. Therefore, though there was sympathy for the rebels, there were no large-scale uprisings in Punjab.

The revolt of 1857 marked the end of an era in Indian history. The Indian political order of the eighteenth century was destroyed finally. The Indian states that had not been annexed were allowed to exist but they lost their independent entity. They formed a part of the British empire for all practical purposes. The Company's rule was abolished and the British government began to rule their empire in India directly. Many changes took place in the British attitudes and policies in India about which you will read in the next chapter.

EXERCISES

I. Answer the following questions.

1. Describe the revolts against the British rule before 1857. Why could not these revolts pose a threat to the British influence in its early stages ?
2. In what way was the Revolt of 1857 unprecedented ?
3. What were the causes of the discontent among the Indian rulers ?
4. How did the annexation of the Indian States by the British affect the economic life of the common people ?
5. Why were the social reforms initiated by the British resented by a section of Indian society ?
6. What were the causes of discontent among the Indian soldiers of the British army which culminated in the Revolt of 1857 ?.
7. In which regions was the uprising of the people in 1857 most widespread ?
8. Name a few important leaders of the Revolt of 1857 and briefly describe their roles.
9. Why did the emerging middle class not support the rebels ?
10. What were the main causes of the failure of the Revolt of 1857. ?

II. In the questions given below four possible answers have been given. Tick the answer you consider correct. Give reasons for your choice.

1. Which of the following statements explains best the nature of the Revolt of 1857.
   - (i) The last efforts of the old political order to regain its power.
   - (ii) Mutiny of a section of sepoys of the British army.
   - (iii) The struggle of the common people to overthrow the foreign rule.
   - (iv) An effort to establish a united Indian nation.
2. Which one of the following factors was least responsible for the failure of the Revolt of 1857 ?
   - (i) Absence of a developed political consciousness among the Indians.
   - (ii) Lack of support for the rebellion from the enlightened middle class
   - (iii) Internal feuds and jealousies among the rebels.
   - (iv) Absence of a strong common leadership of the rebels.

III. Given below are a few statements about the happenings during the Revolt of 1857. Mark (√) if the statement is true and mark (X) if the statement is incorrect.

1. It was for the first time that in 1857 Indian soldiers of the British army revolted against the British.

2. The people of the country in the middle of the 19th century were aware of the significance of the Industrial Revolution.
3. Social reforms introduced by the British were readily accepted by the Indians.
4. Because of the new land systems introduced by the British, the old aristocracy was adversely effected.
5. Lack of essential unity was one of the causes of the failure of the Revolt.
6. Most of the Indian rulers joined the Revolt of 1857.

IV. Things to Do

1. Students may be asked to draw a diagram of the city of Delhi at the time of the Revolt of 1857, pointing out the places of importance associated with it. Students living in Delhi may read detailed works on the revolt in Delhi and visit important places connected with the Revolt. On the basis of what they read and see, they may write a report reconstructing the events of the Revolt.
2. Draw an outline map of India and show in it the regions connected with the Revolt. Also indicate on the map the names of persons connected with the Revolt in different regions.

CHAPTER SIX

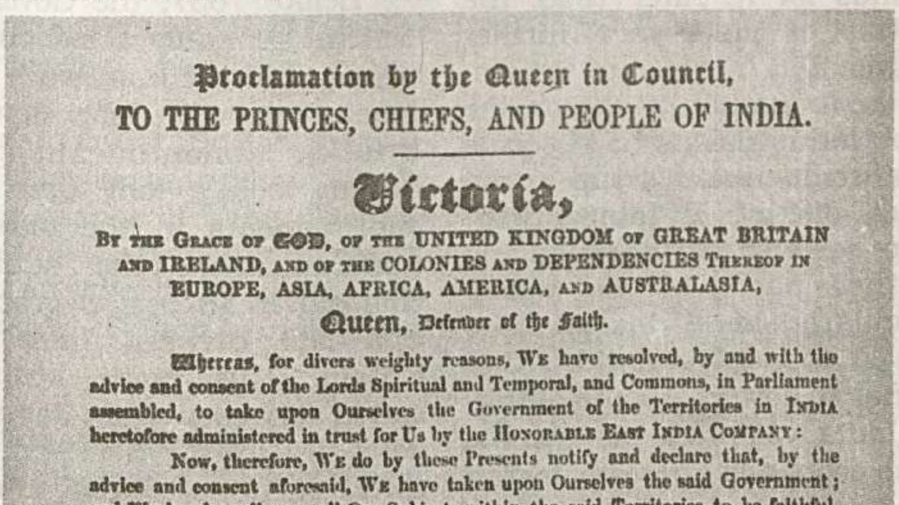
British Policies and Administration in India after 1858

WITH the suppression of the revolt of 1857, a new phase began in the history of British rule in India. The role of the Company in the administration of India was ended and the country came under the direct control of the British government. There were inportant changes in the British policy towards India and in the administration system. In this chapter, you will read about these changes and about the British policy towards India's neighbours.

Act of 1858 and Queen's Proclamation

In August 1858, the British Parliament passed an Act which put an end to the rule of the Company. The control of the British government in India was transferred to the British Crown.At this time, Victoria was the Queen of Britain. The supreme body in Britain was the British Parliament to which the British government was responsible. All activities of the British government were, however, carried out in the name of the monarch. A minister of the British government, called the Secretary of State, was made responsible for the government of India. You have already read that the real power of the Company in the government of India had been declining and that of the British government increasing. This process was completed by the Act of 1858. As the British government was responsible to Parliament, the supreme body for India also was the British Parliament. The British Governor-General of India was now also given the title of Viceroy which means the representative of the monarch.

Queen Victoria issued a Proclamation which was read out by Governor-General Canning at a Durbar held at Allahabad on 1 November 1858. The Proclamation promised to respect the rights of the Indian princes and disclaimed any intention of extending British conquests in India. It also promised to pay due regard to the ancient rights, usages and customs of the people and follow a policy of justice, benevolence and religious toleration. The Proclamation further declared that all will be qualified to enter the administrative services on the basis of their education and ability irrespective of race and creed. Thus, while the Proclamation promised to the princes that they would be safe, it also promised the middle classes opportunities for advancement. However, it soon became evident that the promise of equality of opportunity to the new social groups was not meant to be implemented. In fact, many British administrators, including some Viceroys, thought that it was a



Proclamation by the Queen in Council,
TO THE PRINCES, CHIEFS, AND PEOPLE OF INDIA.

Victoria,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, AND OF THE COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES THEREOF IN EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AMERICA, AND AUSTRALASIA,

Queen, Defender of the Faith.

Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, We have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon Ourselves the Government of the Territories in India heretofore administered in trust for Us by the Honorable East India Company:

Now, therefore, We do by these Presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, We have taken upon Ourselves the said Government; and We hereby call upon all Our Subjects within the said Territories to be faithful, and to bear true Allegiance to Us, Our Heirs and Successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom We may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the Government of Our said Territories, in Our name and on Our behalf:

And We do hereby confirm in their several Offices, Civil and Military, all Persons now employed in the Service of the Honorable East India Company, subject to Our future pleasure, and to such Laws and Regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

A part of Queen Victoria's Proclamation

mistake to make this promise. The promise with regard to the respect for ancient customs of India took the form of a policy to preserve social evils. The British came to believe that their rule could be preserved only by maintaining the old social order. It was fortunate that measures like the abolition of Sati and making widow remarriage legal had been adopted before 1857. The foreign rulers thereafter showed little interest in social reform and opposed it even when Indian leaders made demands for it. After 1858, the interests of India were further subordinated to those of Britain. After the Industrial Revolution, the British industrialists had become the most dominant group in the political life of Britain. British empire had also started expanding in other parts of the world, particularly in Africa. It was involved in conflicts with other imperialist powers. In this situation, India was made to serve the British economic interests. Indian resources were also utilized to serve the interests of the British empire in other parts of the world and in costly wars against other countries.

Control over the Indian Government from Britain

You have read before that the Secretary of State for India was given complete control over the Government of India. Like other ministers of the British government, he was responsible only to the British Parliament. To advise the Secretary of State, the India Council was created. It was comprised of members, some of whom had served in India and thus had a firsthand knowledge of Indian conditions. But the Secretary of State could ignore the advice of the Council on any matter.

Before 1857, the Governor - General generally acted on their own within the framework of the general policies laid down in Britain. Communication with Britain took a long time. With improvements in the means of communication, the situation changed. In 1870, a telegraph line was laid between India and Britain. This made communication very easy. Now, day-to-day consultations between the Government of India and the Secretary of State became possible. The introduction of steam vessels reduced the travelling time between Britain and India. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, connecting the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea, greatly reduced the distance between Britain and

India. These advances in the means of transport and communication reduced the freedom enjoyed by the earlier Governors-General of India. Now the Secretary of State could keep himself informed of the latest developments in India and exercise direct supervision of the administration of India.

The Secretary of State was not at all responsible to the Indian people, and in practice even the Governor-General of India acted as his mere agent. This meant complete subordination of the Government of India to the British government or the Home Government, as it was called. The interests of the British government, thus, became paramount in the governance of India. And the interests of the British government were determined by those who dominated Britain s economic life.

Government of India

You have read before that the power of making and implementing policies was vested in the Governor-General-in-Council. The Council consisted of the Governor-General, four ordinary members and the Commander-in-Chief of the army. It was known as the Executive Council. For making laws, there was a Legislative Council which comprised of members of the Executive Council and six more members. By an Act passed in 1861, the number of ordinary members of the Executive Council was increased to five. Each member of this Council now looked after the work of specific departments of the government. The membership of the Legislative Council was enlarged by an addition of six to twelve more members. Sometimes Indians, mostly princes, landlords and rich merchants, were also nominated to this Council, as a reward for their loyalty. The powers of the Legislative Council to make laws were, however, extremely limited. The members of the Council were nominated by the Governor General.

The Act of 1861 also introduced some changes in provincial administraton. The Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay were administered by a Governor and an Executive Council consisting of three members. Now Legislative Councils were also created in these Provinces which comprised of members of the Executive Council and other members whose number varied from four to eight. The Legislative Councils were also created later in other provinces.

The powers of these Councils were even more limited than that of the central Legislative Council, which was known as the Imperial Legislative Council.

The Act of 1861 provided the structure of the basic government which continued for a long time. Changes were made from time to time within this general framework. By this time, nationalist movement was beginning to emerge in India. Indian leaders demanded that the Legislative Councils should be made representative bodies, and their members should be *elected by the people*. They also demanded more powers for these Councils.

In 1892, the Indian Councils Act was passed by the British Parliament. The number of additional members in the Imperial Legislative Council and in Provincial Legislative Councils was increased. The Act provided for indirect election of some members. There were still no elected representatives of the people and the official members continued to be in majority in these Councils. There was some increase in the powers of the Legislative Councils. The members were now given the right to ask questions and discuss the budget.

In spite of the setting up of the Legislative Councils, the Government of India remained autocratic in its character. Its primary aim was to protect and promote British economic and political interests in India. It also promoted various other interests like those of the British merchants, industrialists, planters and civil servants in India. These groups influenced the government to adopt policies which were often injurious to the interests of the Indian people. The people of India had neither any real say in the government, nor was it run with any regard for their interests. The Legislative Councils included a few members of upper sections of Indian society.

Local Government

There were some important changes in the organisation of local government. As a result of the British conquest, the old system of local government such as village panchayats had broken down. Little attention was paid to such matters of local importance as sanitation, roads, street lighting and water supply. After 1857, Municipal Committees began to be set up in the towns. These Committees levied local taxes to meet the expenditure on local administration and works. After 1882, the District Boards were set up in the rural areas. As you know, only the people living in a locality really understand the problems of their locality and they are the best people to solve these problems. For this, it is necessary that the bodies of the local government managing local affairs are composed of the people of the locality. However, the local bodies formed by the British, consisted of officials without any elected members. After 1882, elected members were included, but only the people with property could vote. The Indian leaders demanded the introduction of real local self-government down to the village level.

Financial Administration

After 1857, the financial administration was also reorganised. Earlier, there was no system of having a budget. Budgets, as you know, contain annual estimates of the revenues of the government from various items and its expenditure. There was no proper system of distributing the revenues between the central and provincial governments. The government was also faced with the problem of increasing its revenues to meet the expenses of wars waged in the interests of British empire. In 1860, the system of budget was introduced and the expected revenue from each item was listed. After some time a decision on the distribution of revenues between the central government and the provincial governments was also taken. The income from post offices, railways, sale of opium and salt and customs duties was kept wholly by the central government. The income from other sources like the land revenue, stamp duties, excise, etc. was divided between the centre and the provinces. Attempts were made to increase the revenues of the government. The government had a monopoly over the production and sale of opium and salt. For taking a case to the law courts, a tax called the stamp duty was imposed. Similar stamp duties were imposed on business deals. Cotton textile mills and some other industries were being established in India. Customs duty, a tax imposed on goods imported from other countries, helps in the growth of local industries. The British government in India imposed these duties but their rate varied from time to time. As a result of these duties, the sale of goods manufactured in Britain, particularly cotton cloth, suffered. Under pressure from the British manufacturers these duties were abolished in 1882.

However, the government had to reimpose these duties in 1894 to meet the loss of revenue. But the British government forced the government in India to impose an equivalent excise duty on Indian manufactures also, so that the sale of British goods in India did not suffer. Income Tax was also introduced in 1860, but was later abolished for some years and then reimposed. The people of India had to pay all these taxes to a government which was not responsible to them but which was run to protect and promote the interests of Britain.

Reorganisation of Army

Indian soldiers, as you have seen, had played a prominent part in the revolt of 1857. The British government reorganised the army to prevent the recurrence of a similar revolt. Earlier, the Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras recruited and maintained separate armies. The army of each Presidency consisted of Indian soldiers, units of European soldiers recruited by the Company, and the regiments of the British Army. After 1858, the units of European soldiers and those of the British were combined. In 1859, the separate armies of the Presidencies were unified and the entire army of the British government in India was brought under the control of the Commander-in-Chief. It was decided to exclude Indian soldiers from the artillery and the arsenals. The number of European soldiers was also increased. For every two Indian soldiers, there was one European soldier. Later, this was slightly changed to five Indian soldiers for two Europeans, and the system continued up to the beginning of the First World War in 1914. All officers were of course Europeans.

To further safeguard the British position, the policy of 'divide and rule' was introduced. Companies of troops belonging to different regions, caste groups or tribes, were combined in forming a regiment. The idea was that if one company revolted, others could be used to suppress it. The Indian people were divided into martial and non-martial races. Recruitment to army was increasingly made from the so called martial races. This policy was designed to create disunity among the people.

The British government made use of the army in India not only to maintain its domination over India but also to extend the empire in other parts of the world. Indian soldiers were sent to fight for

British empire in Afghanistan, Burma and many other places. Many Indian nationalist leaders protested against the use of Indian soldiers and resources by the British against other peoples.

Civil Services

To rule the country, a civil service had been created, as you have seen before, which came to be known as the steel-frame of the British empire. All the important posts in the government were filled by persons belonging to this civil service. In 1853, as you have read, members of the civil service began to be recruited on the basis of competitive examinations which were held in England. Very few Indians could appear in these examinations. The examinations were held in England. The medium of examination was English and Indian candidates had to live in a completely different environment if they wished to compete.

The age for appearing in these examinations was 23 years in 1853. It was reduced to 21 in 1866 and 19 in 1876. This made it even more difficult for Indians to compete successfully with British candidates. In the Queen's Proclamation, it had been promised that Indians would be given equality of opportunity in joining the services. However, in practice, the services were monopolised by the British. In fact, there were Governors-Generals who suggested that Indians should be debarred from the higher services. Educated Indians demanded that the age limit for the competition be raised and that the examinations should be held simultaneously in England and in India. However, the British government and British officials including the Governors-General were hostile towards educated Indians. They did not want educated Indians to feel that they were equals. One of the characteristics of foreign rule everywhere is that the foreign rulers consider themselves superior to the local people. The foreign officials are taught to think of the people they rule as belonging to an inferior race over whom they have a right to rule. This breeds in the rulers racial arrogance and a contempt for the people over whom they rule. The British civil servants who played an important role in framing and executing the policies of the government in India exercised an evil influence on the government. They adopted attitudes which sometimes shocked even the government. For example, in 1876, a British lawyer beat his Indian servant so severely that the servant died of injuries. The only punishment he received was a fine of Rs. 30/-. Such cases were frequent and sometimes the government itself was compelled to intervene.

In 1883, during the Governor-Generalship of Ripon, a Bill was intorduced which aimed at removing the discrimination between Indian and European judges. This was known as the Ilbert Bill. According to this Bill, Indian judges could try Europeans if the case fell within their jurisdiction. This Bill aroused such protests among the Europeans, including civil servants, in India that the government was forced to withdraw the Bill.

In 1879, a new service was created to which some Indians could be recruited every year. However, the selection was not based on competition. They were selected from what the British considered good families, that is from such upper sections of society as supported the British rule. After 1886, three different types of services were introduced. One was the old civil service called the Indian Civil Service. The highest officials were drawn from this service and they were predominanatly Englishmen. In provinces, a civil service was created named after the province, for example, the Bengal Civil Service. There was another service which was mainly related to professional work, such as the Education Service.

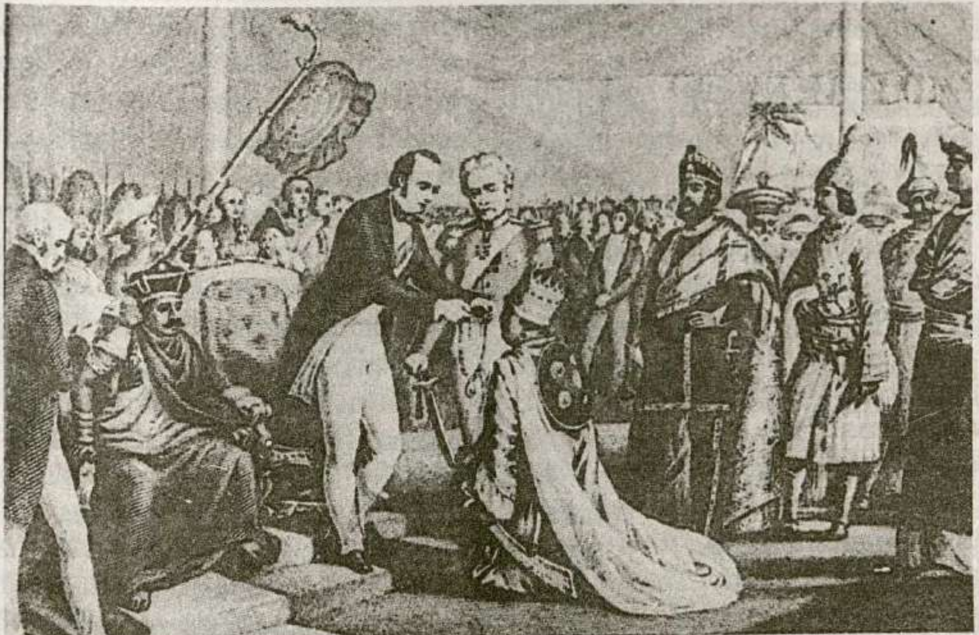
One of the important features of the British rule was the domination by the bureaucracy. The bureaucrats felt they were above the people. Though some of them worked hard, the basic idea was of *ruling over* people, and not working to promote their welfare.

British Policy Towards Indian Princes

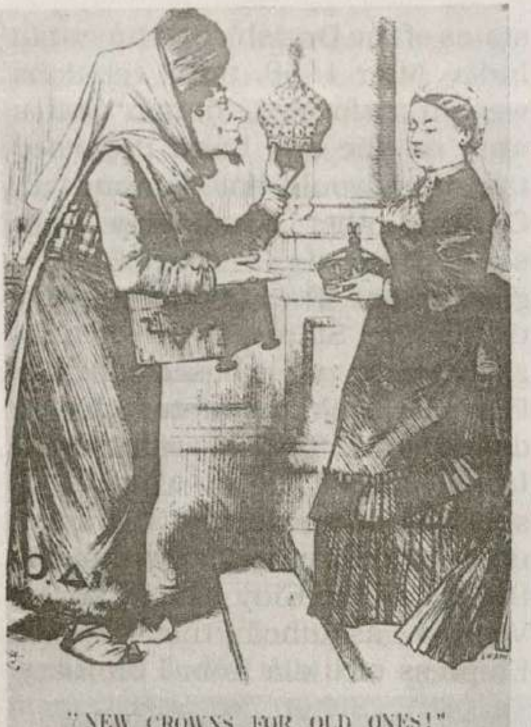
After 1857 the British government adopted the policy of maintaining Indian princes in the hope of strengthening their own rule. You have read before of the Queen's Proclamation which promised not to extend the British territories in India and to respect the rights, dignity and honour of the Indian princes. The British government in India found in the princes their allies. Many Jagirdaris were raised to the status of princely States. There were 562 States ruled by Indian princes. Some of these were very small with an area of one square mile and a population not exceeding 100 persons. There were otners like Kashmir and

Hyderabad which were as big as Britain itself. Thus, after 1857, India was divided into two parts— British India governed directly by the British government through the Government of India and the Indian States ruled by Indian princes.

Before 1857, the relations between the British government in India and the Indian States varied from State to State, depending on the type of treaty signed with them. Some States considered themselves completely independent, having a status of equality with the British government in India. Some others were treated as subordinate states of the British government in India. After 1858, these relations were transformed. Indian States were on the one hand promised that they would not be annexed. On the other hand they were subordinated to the British government. The subordination of the Indian States to the British government was based on the Principle of Paramountcy. According to this, British authority in India was paramount and supreme. The British Paramountcy in India was clearly stated in the Act of 1876 by which Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India from I January



Governor-General Lord Canning decorating Indian Princes who had helped the British in suppressing the revolt of 1857



"NEW CROWNS FOR OLD ONES!"

Queen Victoria assumed the title of the Empress of India. The cartoon shows the British Prime Minister Disraeli offering the crown of India to Queen Victoria. Published in the *Punch*, a British journal,

1877. At a time when a terrible famine raged in many parts of India, an Imperial Assembly was held, where the Indian princes were busy showing off their wealth. The assumption of the title of the Empress of India by Queen Victoria was announced at this Imperial Assembly.

With the emergence of the British government as the paramount authority in India, the power and status of the Indian princes was further reduced. Now it was the responsibility of the British government in India to protect the Indian States from internal as well as external dangers. This gave the British government unlimited power to intervene in the internal affairs of the Indian States. Each succession in a State had to be approved by the British monarch or the monarch's representative in India, the Viceroy. Disputes over succession were settled by the British government. If the ruler was a minor, the State was ruled by the British. In case of a rebellion or mismanagement, the British could depose the ruler and appoint a successor. In such cases, the State was not annexed; only a successor was appointed. The Indian States had no international status. They could not establish relations with other countries. Governor-General Curzon even banned foreign travel by Indian princes without his permission. The British government fixed the number of troops that an Indian State could maintain. These troops were under the control of British officers. People of these States travelling or residing in other countries were treated as subjects of the British empire. The railways, telegraphs and the postal systems in the States were under the control of the British government. Thus the

British were able to bring the Indian princes completely under their authority and thus destroy their power. The States no longer were a danger to the British rule. On the contrary, they were looked upon as providing support to it.

The Indian princes accepted their loss of independence as their States were now safe from annexation. They were safe also from their own people because if their people revolted, the British government would come to their aid. Most of the princes treated their States as their personal property and made no efforts to improve the condition of the people. They lived in great luxury paying little attention to the work of administration. Sometimes the administration of their States was so poor that the British government had to intervene. While the territories under the British had uniform administration and laws, each State developed its own system. The British government maintained these states to divide the Indian people. In many respects, the condition of the people in the States was much worse than in British India. The princes gathered together frequently in Durbars to make ostentatious display of their wealth and received titles from the British government. They became loyal supporters of the British rule as they were dependent on it for their existence.

British Policy of 'Divide and Rule'

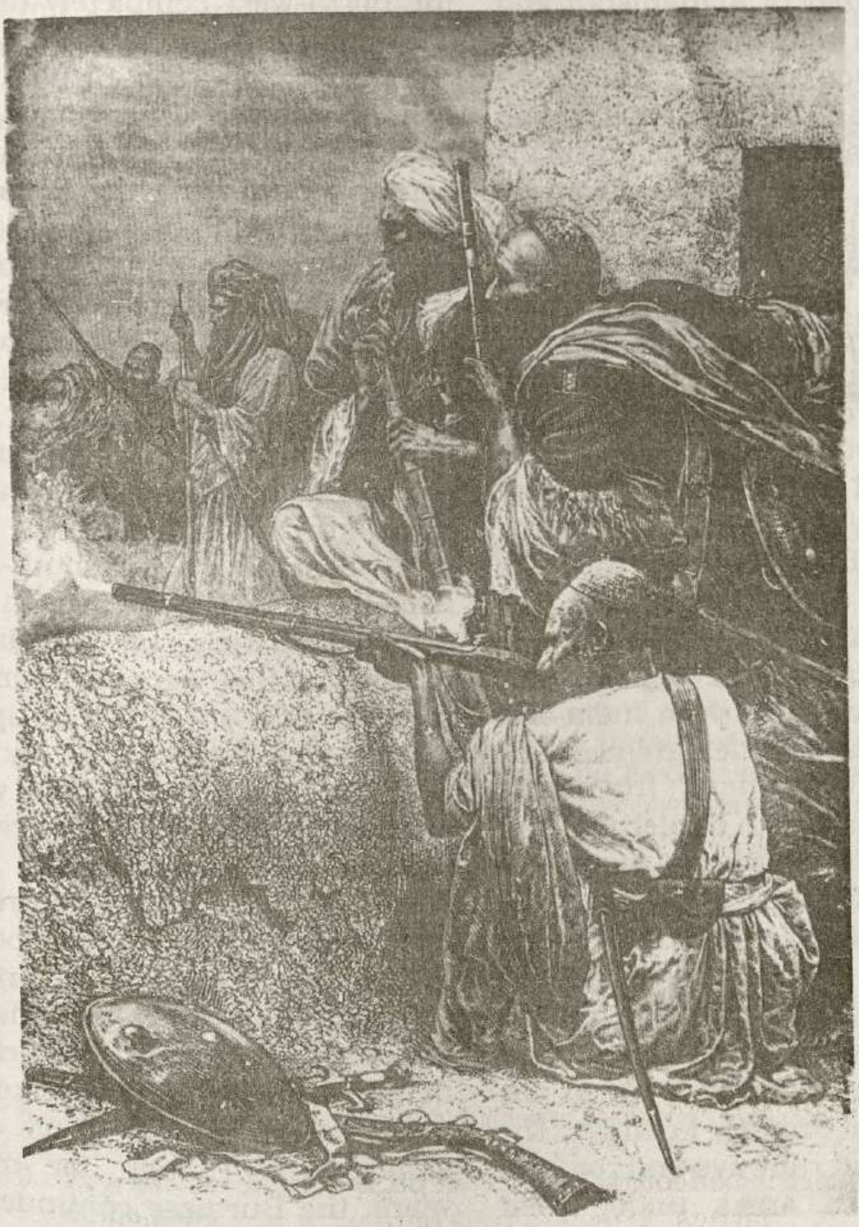
Every imperialist country seeks to maintain its rule over the conquered people by dividing them. This is done by exploiting the differences that may exist among the latter and by creating differences where none exist by favouring one section against another, and by using one section against another. The British, as you have seen, sought to strengthen their rule on the support of the princes and the landlords. In many parts of the country, where under the changed land systems, landlords had ceased to exist, attempts were made to create new landlords. In Awadh, lands were restored to the Taluqdars after the revolt of 1857 was suppressed. The British gave jobs to the sons of landlords and discriminated against the educated Indians. By their policy towards Indian states, they divided the Indian people into the people of the Indian States and the people of British India. In their military administration, as you have seen, they followed the same policy. They also sought to perpetuate the differences that existed in Indian society on the basis of caste and religion by refusing to introduce social reforms after 1857.

You have seen how in the revolt of 1857, Hindus and Muslims fought shoulder to shoulder against the British. After 1858, the British followed a systematic policy of dividing Hindus and Muslims. Muslims were held to be the chief enemies of the British and responsible for the 1857 revolt. They were discriminated against in the services. In their works of history, they tried to show that the Muslims had been the oppressors of the Hindus and that the interests of the Hindus could be served only by being loyal to the British rule. Later on, the anti-Muslim policy was reversed. The British government started favouring the upper class Muslims against the Hindus. However, the objective of the British policy reamined the same—to create disunity between Hindus and Muslims. Later on, when the nationalist movement representing the aspirations of the Indian people began, they encouraged the formation of parties based on religion and, thus, tried to weaken the struggle for independence.

Policy towards Afghanistan and Burma

The foreign policy of the Government of India was a part of the foreign policy of the Home Government. The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of imperialist expansion. There was a scramble for colonies and the imperialist countries often came into conflict with one another. The British used the resources of India and the Indian soldiers in their imperialist wars, and for interfering in the internal affairs of other countries.

The Russian empire had been expanding in Central Asia in the nineteenth century. This alarmed the British. They tried to increase their influence in Afghanistan to check the Russian advance. They also hoped to use Afghanistan as a springboard to increase their own influence in Central Asia. Afghanistan was ruled by a capable king, Dost Mohammad. The British sent their troops to Afghanistan in 1839, defeated Dost Mohammad's army and installed his rival on the throne. Dost Mohammad himself was captured and brought to India. There were revolts against British interference and the British were forced to restore the throne to Dost Mohammad and leave Afghanistan. The British suffered heavy losses during this war and



Rebel tribesman of the north-west frontier thousands of their soldiers were killed. Later friendly relations were established between the British and the ruler of Afghanistan and the British followed a policy of non-interference in the affairs of Afghanistan. In 1878, the British again invaded Afghanistan. This time, too, the British failed to establish their rule or even have their Resident posted there. They, however, succeeded in gaining control over the foreign policy of Afghanistan. Forty years later, the new ruler of Afghanistan declared war on British India and in 1921 succeeded in making his country completely independent.

The British also tried to establish their control over the tribes that lived in the region between India and Afghanistan. The boundary between India and Afghanistan was demarcated. The British government frequently sent troops in the border areas to suppress the tribes on the north-western frontier. However, the people of the north-western frontier continued to rebel against the British authority. The frontier areas were separated from Punjab and made a province called the North-West Frontier Province. The British built railways and roads to bring these areas under their effective control. They often resorted to terror, including bombing from air, but they failed to bring the freedom-loving tribes of the north-west completely under their control.

In 1824-26, the British had gone to war with Burma and had recovered Assam, which had been earlier occupied by the Burmese king. The British had also at that time annexed some Burmese territories and posted their Resident in Burma. In 1852, Burma was again invaded and all the coastal provinces of Burma now became part of the British Indian empire. In the meantime, France had started increasing her imperialist influence in south-east Asia. In the 1880s, the French had established their rule over Indo-China, and they were beginning to increase their influence in Upper Burma which was ruled by the Burmese king. The British were alarmed at the growth of French influence and they asked the Burmese king to accept British control over Burma's foreign policy and the stationing of a British Resident at his capital, Mandalay On his refusal to accept the British demand, the British troops invaded Burma in 1885 and annexed it. Though for many years, the Burmese continued to resist the British rule, ultimately

Burma was made a province of British India.

Thus, the British policy after the revolt of 1857 underwent many changes. The control of India passed on completely to the British government. Britain ruled India for her own economic and imperial interests. In many respects the British policy in India after 1857 was worse than it was before. The British rulers thought that their rule could be best maintained by keeping India backward. Therefore, the sections that the British government in India supported were mainly the princes and the landlords. Other Indians, particularly the educated ones, were looked down upon. They had no say in the administration of the country. In the meantime, many important changes had occurred in Indian economy and society. A powerful movement of social and religious reform and of national regeneration had arisen. These developments were to mark the beginning of a new phase in the history of India.

EXERCISES

I. Answer the following questions.

1. What were the main guiding principles for the formulation of policies by the British government after the Revolt of 1857 ?
2. What changes were introduced in the method of control of the government of India from Britain after the Proclamation of 1858 ?
3. What promises were made to the Indian people in the Proclamation of 1858 ?
4. In what way did the position of the Governor-General change as a result of the creation of the post of the Secretary of State ?
5. What was the structure of the Viceroy's Executive Council ? Trace its growth and functions from 1853 to 1892.
6. Mention the changes in the local administration introduced in 1882.
7. What were the main sources of revenue of the government ? How were these distributed between the central and the provincial governments ?
8. Why was the ratio of European soldiers in the British army raised after 1857 ?
9. How was the principle of 'divide and rule' applied in the organization of the army ?
10. Why was it difficult for Indians to enter the Civil Service ?

11. In what way did the relationship between the British government and Indian Princes change after the Proclamation of 1858 ?
12. How did the British practise the policy of 'divide and rule' ?
13. Mention the reasons behind British policies towards Afghanistan and Burma.

II. Answer the following questions in detail. Try to get information to answer these questions in detail from other books.

1. In the Proclamation of 1858 it was stated that equal opportunities would be given to all Indians. How far was the promise kept ? Discuss.
2. It has been stated that 'In many respects the British policies in India after 1857 were worse than before'. Discuss the statement giving concrete examples from the policies adopted in respect of civil, military, judicial, and local administration and social reforms.

III. In column 'A' are given some Acts and in coloumn 'B' provisions of the Acts. Rearrange the provisions in column 'B' so as to correspond with the Acts in column 'A'.

A	B
1. Act of 1892	Queen Victoria was proclaimed the Empress of India.
2. Act of 1861	The members of the Legislative Councils were allowed to discuss the budget.
3. Act of 1876	Elected members were included in the municipalities.
4. Act of 1882	The provincial and the education services were created.
5. Act of 1858	The Legislative Council was enlarged by the addition of 6 to 12 more members.
	The post of the Secretary of State was created.
	The distirbution of revenue between the centre and the provinces was made.

IV. Things to do

1. Draw an outline map of India showing the boundaries of British India as they existed in 1858.
2. Procure a copy of the text of the Proclamation of 1858 and mark in it the provisions that related to
   (i) the changes in central administration,
   (ii) the relationship between the British government and the people of India, and
   (iii) the relationship between the British government and the Indian Princes.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Changes in Economic Life (1858-1947)

THE QUEEN'S Proclamation of 1858 stated, among other things, that the British government would promote the economic development of India and the welfare of the Indian people. But the measures adopted by the British rulers benefited only the industrial and commercial interests of Britain. Indian economy remained backward and there was increasing impoverishment of the people. You have already read about the economic policies followed by the British during the early period of their rule over India. Many changes took place in the economic life of the Indian people during and after the later half of the 19th century. An important consequence of some of these changes was that different regions of India gradually became interdependent. A common economic life began to emerge in India which helped in unifying the country.

Heavy Burden on Cultivators

You may recall that under the Company's administration, the villages had either the zamindari or the ryotwari system of land-holding with some regional variations. In the areas under the zamindari system, the landlords paid revenue to the government, acting as middlemen between the latter and the cultivators. The government dealt directly with the cultivators in the ryotwari areas. The object of introducing these systems was to ensure regular collection of revenue. It soon became clear that the zamindari system imposed heavy burden on the cultivators. A series of laws were passed with a view to restricting the demands of the zamindars on the cultivators.

These laws were also meant to prevent the eviction of cultivators by zamindars.

These laws, however, remained largely ineffective. In the ryotwari areas where the revenue officers of the government were the real masters, even these laws were not there. In these areas, the officers made fresh assessments without taking into account the actual economic conditions of the cultivators. This often led to oppressive demands which forced the cultivators to turn to money-lenders. There were peasant uprisings in Bengal and Deccan in the 1870's, against these oppressive conditions. The peasants committed riots, burnt down shops and houses and destroyed stocks. But no step was taken against the increasing revenue.

Letting and sub-letting of land-holdings which took place both in zamindari and ryotwari areas made the condition of the cultivators even worse. You have read before that the zamindars who were created by the British did not play any role in agricultural production. They lived off the labour of the cultivators. They often gave away even the responsibility of collecting rent from the cultivators to other people. Some people who got this right from the zamindars sold it to still other people. As a result of this, the number of intermediaries or middlemen, that is, the number of people between the cultivator and the state, increased. All these people lived off what the cultivator produced, without performing any useful function. They further added to the burden on the cultivators. The well-off tenants in the ryotwari areas also took to similar letting and sub-letting of their landholdings, which increased the misery of the actual cultivators. All these intermediaries took no interest in agriculture which remained backward. Some laws were passed with the aim of abolishing the intermediaries but no effective steps were taken in this direction until after India became independent.

Small Holdings

Another factor contributing to the backwardness of agriculture was the small size of the holdings. With the growth of population, the pressure on land gradually increased. There was no expansion of industries and, therefore, no additional jobs. The land-holdings were continually divided due to the prevailing laws of inheritance, that is after the death of the father, his sons equally divided his land between themselves. As more and more people became dependent on land for their living, the size of the land-holdings became smaller. Between 1771 and 1915, for example, the average size of holdings in the Deccan was reduced from 40 acres to seven acres. As a result of this continuous shrinkage, most of the holdings failed to provide a fair living for those dependent upon them.

From the second half of the 19th century, there was an expansion of the area under cultivation. However, this did not lessen the pressure on land. There was no other source to provide employment to the increasing population. In 1862, when census was taken for the first time, the population figure was 206 million which rose to 283 million in 1901. Forty years later in 1941 it was 389 million. But the total agricultural output could not keep pace with this growth. The production of foodgrains in particular declined.

Commerical Crops

The decline in the production of foodgrains was the result of a shift in favour of producing commercial crops like cotton, jute and oil-seeds. The government promoted their production while doing little to meet the shortage of food supply. From 1861 to 1865, there was a civil war in the United States of America. Because of this, the supply of cotton from there to Britain for her textile mills was stopped. Special measures were adopted in India to encourage cultivation of cotton to meet the needs of British textile mills. This brought temporary prosperity to a section of Indian cultivators, but production of foodgrains suffered. In some parts of the country, peasants were forced by the British planters to cultivate indigo and sell it to them at prices fixed by the latter.

Impoverishment of the Peasantry

Right up to the time of Independence the rural population of India was continually plagued by two chronic ailments—indebtedness and famine. This was due to the poor state of agriculture and the starvation level at which the majority of Indian cultivators lived.

Rural Indebtedness

Cultivators everywhere get into debts very easily. The only supplier of credit to the cultivators in India was the village money-lender. But unlike the agricultural debtor elsewhere, who invested the credit for improvement in land and for buying seeds, fertilizers, tools, etc., the cultivator in India incurred debt mainly for unproductive purposes. With it the Indian peasant paid his land revenue or rent to the zamindar, maintained his family during lean years, or met expenses on marriage, birth and death in the family. The average income of the Indian cultivator was so meagre that a loan once raised could hardly be paid back out of the following year's crops. It was found in 1860 that a very high degree of indebtedness, covering almost three-fourths of the peasantry, existed in all the provinces. This situation continued throughout the period of British rule.

The worst effect of the agricultural indebtedness was the acquisition of land by money-lenders. Before the coming of the British, there were many restrictions on the transfer of land and the money-lender could not depend much on the state to recover his debts. In the new, British judicial system, however, the money-lender had much more power over his debtor.

From the earlier part of this century, laws were passed in the provinces, imposing restrictions on land transfers. Measures were also adopted to set a maximum limit on the rate and amount of interest that the money-lender could charge. Cooperative societies which supplied credit to peasants at cheap rate were started in the early years of this century. However, their effect was extremely limited.

Famines in India

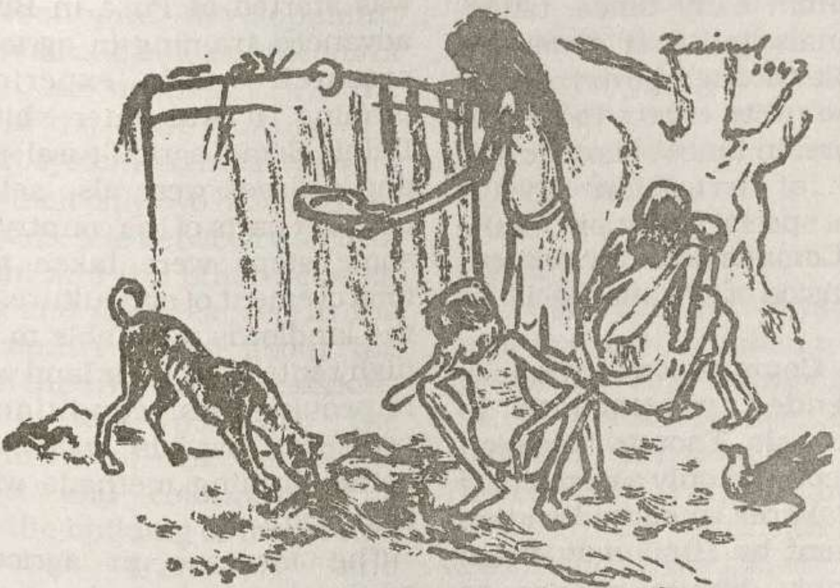
There was frequent occurrence of famines in India. The major reason for this was the absolute dependence of the agriculturists on the monsoons. Even when the harvest was good, they could never store anything to live on during a drought. Failure of the monsoons in any year brought them face to face with famines. Though famines were frequent (between 1860 and 1908, there were 20 years of famine), a general countrywide failure of rains in any single year was rare. With the improvement of roads and construction of railways during the later part of the 19th century, arrangements could be made to send foodgrains to scarcity areas. Still famines stalked over the country in one or the other region.

Victims of a famine in Madras in 1900

The real problem was that the small cultivators and labourers lived absolutely hand to mouth. Failure of crops, even for a short period, caused by failure of rains meant starvation for them.

The effects of famines were many-sided. Millions of people perished in these famines. During the second half of the 19th century, 30 million people fell victim to the famines. There was also large-scale destruction of cattle. Besides, under-nourishment and epidemics became widespread after each year of famine. People from famine-affected areas migrated to other areas.

The frequency of famines made the government appoint Famine Commissions. On their recommendations the government decided in 1883 to allocate 15 million rupees every year for famine relief and insurance. A Famine Code was also framed to provide guidelines to the administrators. Remission of land revenue, extension of irrigation works and monetary relief to the affected people were the main items of this Code. But the government never went into the root of the problem and did not accept the suggestion made by the Famine Commission of 1880 to introduce alternative



A sketch of the Bengal famine by the famous artist Zainul Abedin sources of employment for the surplus population in agriculture.

The famines in the 20th century were fewer in number and less severe because of improvement in irrigation, better transport facilities and better relief measures. The public opinion was also awakened by this time against this recurring calamity. There was, however, a severe famine in 1943 causing death of about three million people in Bengal. But it was a man-made famine caused during the Second World War.

Development of Irrigation Facilities

Right from early times, tanks, wells, canals and river dams had been built through governmental and community efforts to help in agriculture. In times of famine, the problem of irrigation always received a special attention. All the Famine Commissions recommended expansion of irrigation facilities in India.

These Commissions specially recommended programmes to develop canals. Though irrigation facilities covered only a minor part of the total area under cultivation (13 per cent by 1940) and varied considerably from province to province, it nonetheless reduced to a certain extent the calamity caused by uncertain rainfall. The extension of irrigation facilities had another consequence. The raising of crops in irrigated areas was costlier because farmers were required to pay water charges. This led the farmers to grow such crops as would fetch a higher price in the market. Thus, the growth of cash crops received an impetus.

For developing agriculture, the government adopted a few more constructive policies from the beginning of this century. Departments of agriculture were established to collect information about agriculture to execute the schemes for development. The Imperial Institute of Agriculture was started at Pusa in Bihar for advanced training in agriculture, research and experimental farming. It was later shifted to Delhi. Some agricultural schools and colleges were also set up in different parts of the country. Thus, some steps were taken for the improvement of agriculture. But as the landlords were able to realise high rents from their land without improving its condition, the progress towards modern and better farming methods was not significant.

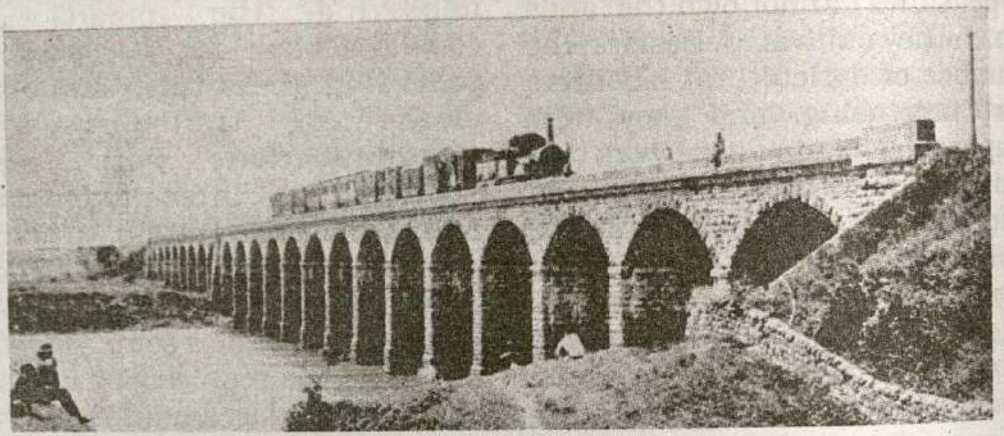
The increase in agricultural production that took place was offset by the increase in population. The conditions were made worse due to gross inequalities in the ownership of land. A large number of peasants did not own the lands which they cultivated. Besides, the number of agricultural labourers was increasing, and they were employed for agricultural work only for a few months in a year. Land reforms to end inequalities in the ownership of land, to give ownership rights to the actual tillers of the land, to safeguard the interests of agricultural workers, were necessary for any significant improvement in the situation. But these had to wait for the coming of Independence.

Development of Transport

For economic development, wide-spread and efficient means of transport are necessary. Till the middle of the 19th century, the transport system in India was very poor. By then only two half-finished trunk roads, one between Calcutta and Delhi and the other between Bombay and Agra, existed in the whole country. From about the middle of the 19th century, serious attention was paid to the improvement of the means of transport and communication. Besides the building of roads, new means of transport and communication, particularly railways and telegraph, were introduced. The revolt of 1857 made the British realise the importance of expanding and improving the means of communication for purposes of preserving their rule. Improved means of transport and communication were also necessary to intensify India's economic exploitation in the interest of Britain. You have read before that the British rulers' policy was to use India as a source for the raw materials required for British industries and as a market for the British manufactures. This could be done only if the movement of more and more goods between the port towns and different parts of the country was made easier and faster. Therefore, it should be remembered that the development of the transport that took place was not meant to promote India's economic development.

Railways

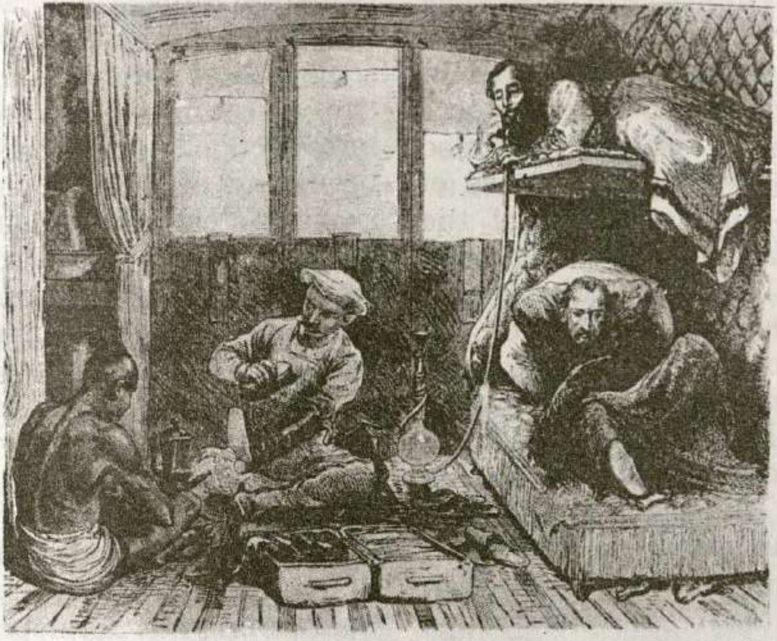
It was the railways which revolutionised the Indian transport system. The first railway line was opened in 1853 between Bombay and a suburban town near it called Thana. Next year, Calcutta was linked to the coalfields in the western part of Bengal, and in 1856 another line joined Madras with Arakonam. After that, railway construction was pushed on vigorously through the initiativof



The first railway train between Bombay and Thana passing over a bridge

the government and private British companies. The British businessmen and contractors made huge profits in building railways in India.

In the early period, the railways followed the scheme of constructing trunk lines throughout the country and connecting the big ports like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras with the important interior cities and agricultural areas. Most of the important centres were connected in this way and by the end of the 19th century, over 25,000 km of lines had been laid. The main emphasis was on linking the port towns with areas within the country which were important from the point of view of *British economic interests*. Little attention was paid to link together different parts of the country which would promote movement of goods produced within the country from one area to another. This policy is also clear from the rates of freight fixed by the railways. The rates of freight charged for goods from one place to another within the country were higher than the rates of freight between the port towns and other parts of the country. Another major consideration in laying railway lines was the defence of British hold over India. Areas which were important from the point of view of defence were linked together through railways to facilitate



British passengers travelling in a train in the 19th century

movement of troops. Later, particularly during and after the First World War, when there was some growth of Indian industries, there was a demand to change the railway policy. Indians demanded that the railways should look more to the economic needs of the country than to foreign interests. The railways were making huge profits and a large part of these profits went out of the country. Though the railways were mostly owned by the government, they were looked after by different British companies. The situation did not change much till 1947, though the railway lines by that time had been laid over a length of about 70,000 km and had become one of the largest railway networks in the world.

The effects of the railways on Indian economy and general life have been many and deep. They made movement of people and goods quicker, cheaper and more secure. The goods produced in the interior of the country could reach the outside market.

The railways made it possible to eliminate the danger of famines as foodgrains from other parts of the country could now be easily transported to areas where there was a failure of crops. They were to play an essential role in developing industries by making it possible to bring coal and raw materials in large quantities to places where factories were located. They also helped in levelling the prices of goods in different parts of the country. Earlier the prices of goods produced and available in abundance in one part of the country would be low, and in areas where they were in short supply, they would be high. Now, because goods could be moved from surplus areas to shortage areas, the difference in prices would be much less than before. The construction of railways also created new groups of people in society. These were the unskilled and casual labourers who were required for the laying of railway lines and their maintenance. Thus, a new section of people in society who were not dependent on land or crafts for their livelihood came into being. These labourers mostly came from the poorer classes of cultivators or landless agricultural workers.

You have read before how the Industrial Revolution, which began first in England and later spread to some other countries of Europe, brought about far-reaching changes in the economy and society of those countries. Not long after their introduction in Britain, the railways were introduced by the British in India. They involved the use of iron and coal on a massive scale and of a modern machine–the steam engine. Their introduction should have led to the beginning of modern industries, iron and steel mills and factories to produce railway engines, in India. But this did not happen because the purpose of introducing railways was not to promote India's industrial development but to further the economic exploitation of India. The railway engines continued to be imported from Britain. The iron and steel industry in India was also not encouraged. Coal mining was developed but the profits went to the British owners of coal mines in India. A few workshops for the maintenance of railways were, however, set up in India.

The construction of new roads also went hand in hand with the extension of railways. They helped in breaking the isolation of villages. They often led to a change in the crops grown in the villages as it became easier to sell outside what was produced in the villages. Similarly, goods produced elsewhere could now be sold in the villages.

The improvement in the means of transport was made to promote British interests. But they helped in bringing different parts of the country together.

Modern Industries in India

During the second half of the 19th century, a few modern industries were introduced in India. They could be broadly classified as plantation and machine industries. These were mostly owned and controlled by British companies. Some industries were owned by Indians, but they could not develop fast because of the unhelpful attitude of the government.

Every country, at the early stages of its industrial development, adopts 'protection' measures to free itself from foreign competition. But for the better part of the British rule in India, the government did not take any step in this direction, as that would have gone against the interests of the "home" country, that is, Britain. India, as you know, provided the largest market for British-made goods.

The Swadeshi movement, which began in 1905, was an important aspect of our freedom movement. It encouraged Indians to become self-supporting in all spheres. This movement and the compulsions of the two World Wars gave opportunities for starting modern industries in India. Meanwhile, in 1920's, a few industries received some 'protection'. During the Second World War, demand for industrial goods, both for military and civil use, rose. The imports were too inadequate to meet the demand. In this situation, Indian industries received an impetus and the government assured them further protection. Industrialization on a large scale, however, started only after India had become independent.

Plantations

One of the major areas of European exploitation of Indian resources was in the plantation industry. It began first with the manufacture of dyes from indigo during the closing years of the 18th century. Indigo was grown in selected districts of Bihar and Bengal, and by 1850 it formed one of the most important exportable goods from India. But in the latter part of the century, indigo started losing market due to the production of a synthetic dye which was cheaper and more durable.

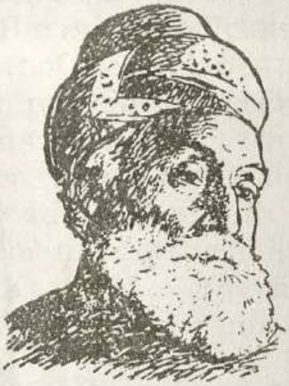
Founded in the middle of the 19th century, tea became the biggest among the Indian plantation industries within a short period. Most of the tea gardens were situated in Assam, Bengal and southern India. The output of tea increased gradually, and in the early years of the 20th century, Indian tea topped the list in the world tea market. By 1940, 80 per cent of the tea produced in India was exported and in England it found its largest market. Coffee, rubber and cinchona formed other important items of plantation industries. British capital monopolised these industries almost till the end of the British rule in India.

Machine Industries

The machine industries had their beginning in India during the second half of the 19th century. The most important of these were the cotton and jute industries. The first cotton mill was started in Bombay in 1853, and barring the period when price of raw cotton rose high because of its demand in England, textile industry made a steady progress. Immediately before the First World War, India ranked fourth in the world among the textile producing countries. While most of the jute mills were owned by the British, a large number of textile mills were set up and owned by Indians. The Indian cotton industry developed in-spite of competition first from British textiles and later from Japan. The Indian cotton mills also produced yarn which was used to weave cloth by a large number of cottage industries. The cotton mills were mainly concentrated in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Madras.

Jute industry was originally a handicraft of Bengal and there in 1855 the first spinning machine was set up. For some time the jute mills of Dundee in Scotland were a strong rival to India. But from the last quarter of the 19th century Indian jute mills enjoyed the position of monopolising the world supply.

Modern industries require iron and steel, cement, chemicals and power. Coal was, until the beginning of large-scale use of oil, the most important source of power. Work in the coal-fields in India began from 1845. With the expansion of railways and the growth of industries, the demand for coal went up. Railways remained the biggest consumers of coal for a long time. It has been estimated that the coal-fields in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa contain vast quantities of coal of average quality. Coal is also essential for smelting iron ore which was started in India in 1874. But iron and steel industry had a feeble start and it did not take a proper shape till 1905 when the famous Tata Iron and Steel Company was founded at Jamshedpur. Later on, smaller iron works were started in Bengal and Mysore. The iron products contained a wide range of variety and made possible the development of engineering industries. The iron industry has



Jamshedji Tata, founder of the Tata Iron and Steel Company

been built up in India mainly through Indian capital, skill and enterprise. The production of iron and steel in India, however, remained very small.

Little progress was made in chemical industries. Cement industry began to develop only in the 1930s. A major industry with Indian ownership was sugar industry which grew fast in the 1930s. Very little progress was made in the development of machine-making industries. Without the latter, machines for industries could not be produced in the country and had to be imported from outside.

Despite some improvement, the development of industries in India at the time of Independence was very much limited. The industries that were set up were confined only to a few places in india. Many of these were owned by the British, and the profits that they made were sent to Britain. This happened in spite of the vast human and material resources available in our country and the huge market that could be found at home and abroad. This was mainly because of the economic policies of the British government. It was in Britain's interest to keep India industrially backward and subordinate to her economy.

Drain of India's Wealth

There was a significant rise in India's foreign trade as a result of the introduction of railways and advances in ship-building. With the opening of the Suez Canal, which cut short the distance between India and Europe, the movement of goods between India and Britain increased further. By the end of the 19th century, Indian exports chiefly consisted of raw materials—cotton, jute, tea, rice, wheat, seeds and hides. Jute products formed the only important manufactured item.The imports primarily consisted of machinery, metal products, textiles and other manufactures.

The foreign trade expanded rapidly in the 20th century. Over the years, there were some changes in the direction and nature of the trade. Throughout the 19th century, Britain dominated India's

A view of the port at Calcutta in the 19th century

foreign trade. In the 20th century trade relations were established with the U.S.A., Japan, Germany and some other countries. Trade with these countries went on increasing. Meanwhile there was also some change in the items of export and import. As industries developed in India, the import of manufactured goods declined and India began to export her own manufactures.

This does not, however, mean that the economic development of India had reached a high level. Throughout the period of British rule, there was a continuous flow of India's wealth to Britain. This has been termed as 'drain' of India's wealth to Britain. Besides the profits from trade and industries owned by the British, which were sent to Britain, a large portion of the revenues collected by the government of India was sent to Britain as 'Home Charges'. All the expenses that were incurred in Britain for ruling over India, such as maintaining the extablishment of the Secretary of State for India, were paid for from the revenues of India. The British officials in India sent part of their salaries *to Britain*, and, on retirement, received their pensions in Britain *from India*. It has been estimated that during the last decade of the 19th century, about one-third of the total revenue collected by the government of India was sent to Britain for these purposes.

Economic Condition of the People

Two new social classes which emerged in Indian society were the Indian capitalists and industrial workers. Besides these, there was a middle class whose number and importance rapidly increased with the expansion of administrative machinery and of trade and industry. Many people entered the professions of law, teaching, engineering and business. The emergence of new classes was of great importance in shaping the history of India. These classes, you should remember, had little to do with the old pattern of Indian life, and wanted to change India on modern lines. The basic feature of the economic conditions of the Indian people during the period of British rule was their extreme poverty.

The average annual income per head, if worked out properly, usually gives us an indication of the general economic condition of a country. In India, such an income has been estimated in a rather rough way. According to this estimate, the per capita annual income in 1947 was Rs. 228, which works out to less than one rupee per day. We should also take into account the fact that incomes of the different sections of the people varied widely. The landlords, factory owners, traders and the middle class people were earning a lot more than small cultivators and labourers engaged in farms, factories and ports. The latter group formed the overwhelming majority of the population and their standard of living was very low. In the beginning of this century, the monthly average wage of an agricultural labourer was less than Rs. 5 and that of an unskilled labourer in towns like Calcutta and Delhi about Rs. 8 only. These figures indicate in very clear terms the poverty of the Indian people. R.C. Dutt, who had been a member of the Indian Civil Service, wrote in 1903: "If manufactures were crippled, agriculture overtaxed, and a third of the revenue remitted out of the country, any nation on earth would suffer from permanent poverty and recurring famines."

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the governments of the developed countries played a very prominent role in shaping the economy of their countries. In India, as we have seen above, things happened in a different way because of the foreign rule. Here the government refused to protect and support the developing industries for a very long time under the pressure of British businessmen. It neither took adequate measures to improve rural life nor promoted agriculture on modern lines. Instead, it imposed heavy revenue assessment and many other taxes on the cultivators many of whom lost their small holdings and became landless labourers. These extractions provoked peasant revolts in many parts of India during the second half of the 19th century. The government's huge expenditure on military and administration was no less responsible for the acute poverty in India.

Certain sections of our people, such as the landlords, rich farmers and money-lenders, also exploited to the utmost the poor people of the village– the tenants, the landless labourers, and those belonging to lower castes and the tribal people. Later on, to safeguard their interests, bodies like Kisan Sabhas and Harijan Leagues, were organised.

The condition of the plantation and factory workers was also miserable for a long time. Though laws had been passed since 1881 to fix working hours, minimum age limit for employment and minimum wage for the workers, these were not strictly enforced. The All India Trade Union Congress was formed in 1920. This proved to be a positive step towards organising the labour movement to safeguard the rights of workers.

The Indian capitalists and the middle class also suffered. By favouring British industrialists, the British rule hampered the growth of Indian industries under the control of Indian capitalist. They became increasingly vocal in demanding political rights as well as protection of India's economic interests and promotion of Indian industries.

The changes in economic life which the British rule brought about played a crucial role in the rise of Indian nationalism. The Indian nationalists, from the very beginning, showed concern for the poverty and economic distress in the country. They continuously protested against the oppressive revenue policy of the government, the "drain" of Indian wealth to Britain and the failure of the government to develop Indian resources. In 1938, the Indian National Congress set up a

National Planning Committee to draw a blueprint for India's economic development. This job was taken up by the Planning Commission when India became free.

EXERCISES

I. Answer the following questions.

1. What were the causes of the backwardness of Indian agriculture ?
2. Why did the production of foodgrains decline ?
3. What were the causes of the indebtedness of peasants during the British rule?
4. What were the causes of the frequent occurrence of famines in India ?
5. What steps were taken by the British government to meet the problem of famines ?
6. How were the economy of the country and the general life of the people affected by the introduction of railways ?
7. What were the industries introduced in India during the British rule ?
8. Why did not the British government adopt the policy of protection ?
9. What were the reasons for the increase of India's industrial backwardness ?
10. What were the reasons for the increase in India's foreign trade in the 20th century ?
11. Discuss the causes of poverty of the Indian people.
12. Who were the main beneficiaries of the progress in agriculture and industry during the British rule in India ? Why ?

II. Given below are some statements about the economic development of India between 1858 and 1947. Put (✓) if the statement is true and (X) if it is false.

1. Changes in the economic life helped in fostering unity among the people.
2. Ryotwari system was prevalent mostly in southern and western India.
3. Peasants in the Ryotwari areas were better off than peasants in the Zamindari areas.
4. The British government encouraged the cultivation of cotton to feed the Indian textile industry.
5. At the time of the First World War, India was far behind the rest of the world in textile industry.

III. Things to do

1. Prepare a chart showing the influence of the following on the life of the people and prosperity of the country and agriculture.
   (i) Cultivation of cash crops

   (ii) Construction of canals
   (iii) Introduction of railways

2. Prepare graphs to show the following from 1858 to 1947.
   (i) Growth of per capita annual income
   (ii) Growth of population
   (iii) Growth of railways
   (iv) Increase in the land area under cultivation
   (v) Areas under irrigation

   Collect data for the above from other sources.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Religious and Social Reform Movements and Cultural Awakening

YOU have read earlier about some of the features of Indian society such as the divisions and inequalities created by the caste system, the oppression of women, and certain inhuman practices and customs. From the early decades of the 19th century, there was a growing awareness in all parts of the country of the backwardness of Indian society and of the need to better it. Some of the social evils and superstitions had become associated with religious beliefs. The movements of social reform which arose in all parts of the country and in every religious community were, therefore, also movements of religious reform. The reformers were deeply influenced by the ideas of rationalism and humanism and of human equality.

You have read earlier about the beginning of English education in India. Even though only a small number of people benefited from this education, it played an important role in bringing the knowledge of some of the advanced ideas of the western world and of modern science to India. Educated Indians also became aware of developments in other parts of the world, including movements of nationalism and democracy and later, of socialism, in other countries. Beginning with the reform of certain aspects of religious and social life, this awakening, in course of time, affected every aspect of social, economic, cultural and political life of the country.

From the late 18th century, a number of European and Indian scholars began the study of ancient India's philosophy, science, religions and literature. This growing knowledge of India's past gave to the Indian people a sense of pride in their civilization. It also helped the reformers in their work of religious and social reform. For their struggle against social evils, superstitions and inhuman practices and customs, the reformers used the authority of the ancient texts. While doing so, most of them based themselves on reason rather than mere belief and faith. Thus, Indian religious and social reformers made use of their knowledge of western ideas as well as of ancient learning.

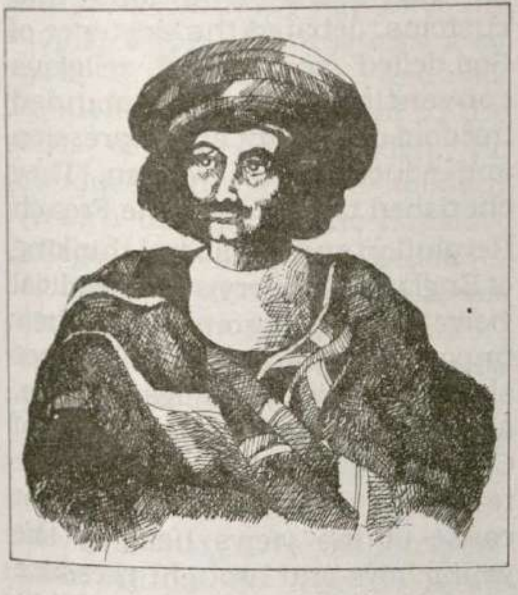
Rammohun Roy and Brahmo Samaj

The pioneer and in many respects, the most important figure of the reform movement was Raja Rammohun Roy. He was born in a well-to-do family in Bengal, probably in 1772. He received his traditional Sanskrit learning at Benaras and Arabic and Persian learning at Patna. Later, he learnt English, Greek and Hebrew. He also knew French and Latin. He made a deep study not only of Hinduism but also of Islam, Christianity and Judaism. He wrote a number of books in Bengali, Hindi, Sanskrit, Persian and English. He started two newspapers, one in Bengali and another in Persian. He was given the title of Raja and sent to England by the Mughal emperor as his envoy. He reached England in 1831 and died there in 1833.

Rammohun Roy was convinced that to purify Hindu religion of the evils that had crept into it, it was necessary to bring to the knowledge of the people the original texts of their religion. For this purpose, he took up the hard and patient job of publishing the Bengali translations of the Vedas and the Upanishads. He advocated belief in a universal religion based on the principle of one Supreme God. He condemned idol-worship and the rites and rituals. His greatest achievement in the field of religious reform was the setting up in 1828 of the Brahmo Sabha and, in 1830 of the Brahmo Samaj. The Brahmo Samaj was the first important organization of religious reform. It forbade idol-worship and discarded meaningless rites and rituals. The Samaj also forbade its members from attacking any religion.

Rammohun Roy's activities were not confined to religious reform. You have already read about his support to the introduction of English education in India, which was necessary to promote enlightenment and knowledge of science. It has already been mentioned that he started two newspapers, and he was a great believer in the freedom of the press and campaigned for the removal of restrictions on the press.

The greatest achievement of Rammohun Roy in the field of social reform was the abolition of *Sati* in 1829. You have already read about this. He had seen how the wife of his elder brother was forced to commit *Sati*. His campaign against *Sati* aroused the opposition of the orthodox Hindus who bitterly attacked him. Rammohun Roy realized that the practice of *Sati* was due to the extremely low position of Hindu women. He advocated the abolition of polygamy, that is, the practice of a man having more than one wife, and wanted women to be educated and given the right to inherit property.



Raja Rammohun Roy

Rammohun Roy and his associates had to face the bitter enmity and ridicule from the orthodox Hindus. The influence of Brahmo Samaj, however, spread, and branches of the Samaj were opened in different parts of the country. The two most prominent leaders of the Brahmo Samaj were Debendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen. To spread the message of the Brahmo Samaj, Keshab Chandra Sen travelled throughout Madras and Bombay Presidencies and, later, the northern India. In 1866, there was a split in the Brahmo Samaj when Keshab Chandra Sen and his group held views which were more radical than those of the other Brahmo Samajists. They proclaimed freedom from the bondage of caste and customs, and from the authority of scriptures. They advocated and performed inter-caste marriages and widow remarriages, opposed the custom of *purdah* and condemned caste divisions. While this group rose in prominence, the influence of the other group, which showed little interest in social reform, declined.

Though the Brahmo Samajists were never large in number, they represented the new spirit of rationalism and reform. They attacked caste rigidity, started taking their food with the people of the so-called lower castes and those of other religions, opposed restrictions about food and drink, worked for improving the status of women in society, devoted their lives to the spread of education and condemned the old Hindu opposition to sea voyages.

The movement started by Rammohun Roy, and carried forward by others after him, influenced similar movements of reform in other parts of the country.

Derozio and Young Bengal

For carrying on the modernising movements in Bengal, the Hindu College of Calcutta, founded in 1817, played an important role. David Hare, an associate of Rammohun, took keen interest in starting this college. He had come from Scotland to sell watches in Calcutta, but later made the spread of modern education in Bengal his life's mission. In 1826, a young man of 17, Henry Lui Vivian Derozio, whose father was of Portuguese origin and mother an English woman, joined the Hindu College as a teacher. Within no time he drew around him the best boys of the college whom he constantly encouraged to think freely, and to question all authority. Derozio promoted radical ideas through his teaching and by organising an association for debate and discussions on literature, history, philosophy and science. Through these activities, Derozio practically charmed the young students of Calcutta and brought about an intellectual revolution among them. His students, collectively called the *Young Bengal*, ridiculed all old social traditions and customs, debated the existence of God,defied social and religious conventions and demanded freedom of thought and expression and education for women. They cherished the ideals of the French Revolution and the liberal thinking of England. The very strong radical views of this group and their unconventional practices like not showing respect to religious idols, alarmed the orthodox Hindus of Calcutta. They thought that the teachings of Derozio were the root cause of the views held by the young boys and brought pressure on the authorities of the Hindu College to dimiss him.

The *Young Bengal* movement continued even after Derozio's dismissal and his sudden death in 1831. Though deprived of leadership, the members of this group continued preaching radical views through teaching and journalism.

Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar

Another great reformer was Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. He was born in a poor Brahmin family in 1820, and had a brilliant career as a student of Sanskrit. For his great learning, the Sanskrit College in Calcutta, of which he was the Principal for a few years, conferred on him the title of 'Vidyasagar'. He became a legendary figure for his simple living, fearlessness and spirit of self-sacrifice, and his devotion to education and to the cause of the downtrodden. He introduced the study of modern Western thought in the Sanskrit College and admitted students belonging to the so-called lower castes to study Sanskrit. Earlier, studies in Sanskrit College were confined to traditional subjects.

The study of Sanskrit itself was a monopoly of Brahmins and the so-called lower castes were not allowed to study it. He made a great contribution to the Bengali language, and he is considered the originator of modern Bengali language. He was closely associated with many journals and newspapers and wrote powerful articles advocating social reforms.

Vidyasagar's greatest contribution was to the cause of widows' uplift and girls' education. He played a great role in the passing of the law which made the marriage of widows legal. He personally took part in the first widow remarriage that was performed in Calcutta in 1856. He was attacked by the orthodox Hindus for his powerful support (backed by his immense learning) to the cause of widow remarriage as well as for his efforts at promoting education of girls. When, in 1855 he was made Special Inspector of Schools, he opened a number of new schools, including girls' schools, in the districts under his charge. The authorities did not like this and he resigned his post. He was closely associated with Drinkwater Bethune who had started the first school for girls' education in Calcutta in 1849. He himself started a number of schools for girls. It is difficult to imagine today the strong opposition which the supporters of girls' education faced from the orthodox people in those days. Some of them, for example, said that 'a man who married an educated girl would not live long'. Vidyasagar did not concern himself much with religious questions. However, he fought, with the help of his vast learning and knowledge of religion, against all those who opposed reforms in the name of religion.

Reform Movements in Western India

Beginning in Bengal, the religious and social reform movements spread to other parts of India. In 1867 the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay was founded. Two of its chief architects were Mahadev Govind Ranade and Ramakrishna Bhandarkar. The leaders of the Prarthana Samaj were influenced by the Brahmo Samaj. They condemned the caste system and the practice of untouchability. They worked for improving the status of women and advocated widow remarriage. Ranade, who was also one of the founders of the Indian National Congress, founded the Indian National Social Conference in 1887 with the aim of working for social reforms effectively all over the country. This Conference met every year when the sessions of the Indian National Congress were held to discuss social problems. Ranade believed that without social reforms, it was not possible to achieve any progress in the political and economic fields. He was a great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity and declared 'that in this vast country no progress is possible unless both Hindus and Mohammedans join hands together'.

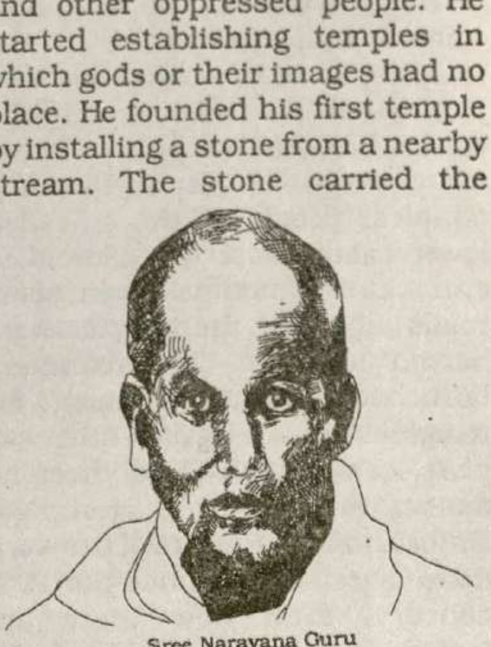
Two other great reformers in western India were Gopal Hari Deshmukh Lokahitwadi and Jotirao Govindrao Phule, popularly known as Jotiba. Lokahitwadi was associated with a number of social reform organizations. He condemned the caste system and worked for the uplift of women. Mahatma Phule dedicated himself to the cause of the oppressed sections of society and of women's upliftment. In 1848, he started a school for the girls of the so-called lower castes and educated his wife so that she could teach in that school. Later, he started more schools for girls. In 1873, he founded the Satyashodhak Samaj which was open to everyone without any distinction of caste and religion. Its aim was to work for winning equal rights for the people of the oppressed castes. Mahatma Phule was opposed to the supremacy of the Brahmins and started the practice of arranging marriage ceremonies without Brahmin priests. Jotiba was given the title of 'Mahatma' for his work for the cause of the oppressed.

Reform Movements in Southern India

Inspired by the Brahmo Samaj, the Veda Samaj was established in Madras in 1864. It advocated discarding of caste distinctions and promotion of widow remarriage and girls' education. Like the Brahmo Samaj, the Veda Samaj also condemned the superstitions and rituals of orthodox Hinduism and propagated belief in one supreme God. Chembeti Sridharalu Naidu was the most prominent leader of the Veda Samaj. He translated books of the Brahmo Samaj in Tamil and Telugu. Later, the Brahmo Samaj of South India and its branches were established in some cities of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra. Soon after, branches of the Prarthana Samaj were also opened and the two Samajs worked together for promoting religious and social reforms.

An outstanding leader of the reform movements in southern India was Kandukuri Veeresalingam. He was born in 1848 in an orthodox Brahmin family in Andhra. He was influenced by the ideas of the Brahmo Samaj, particularly those of Keshab Chandra Sen, and dedicated himself to the cause of social reform. In 1876, he started a Telugu journal which was almost exclusively devoted to social reform. He worked for the enlightenment of the people and many areas of social reform, but his greatest contribution was to the cause of the emancipation of women. This included promoting girls' education and widow remarriages. An entire generation of social reformers and nationalist leaders of Andhra was inspired by the writings and the reform activities of Veeresalingam.

A significant movement which was particularly important for the emancipation of the oppressed sections of society was started by Sree Narayana Guru in Kerala. Narayana Guru was born in 1854 in an Ezhava family. The Ezhavas, along with some others in Kerala, were considered untouchable by Hindus of the so-called upper castes. Narayana Guru acquired Sanskrit education and devoted himself to the uplift of the Ezhavas and other oppressed people. He started establishing temples in which gods or their images had no place. He founded his first temple by installing a stone from a nearby stream. The stone carried the



Sree Narayana Guru

following words, "Here is the place where all people live in fraternity without caste distinctions and religious rivalry". Narayana Guru, in 1903, founded the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam, which became an important organisation for social reform. Narayana Guru considered differences based on caste and religion as meaningless and advocated what he called 'One caste, one Religion and one God' for all.

Many reformers in southern India concerned themselves with the reform of certain practices connected with Hindu temples. They advocated the ending of the system of *Devadasis* who were attached to the temples. They also wanted that the wealth of the temples, some of which were very rich, should not be amassed by the priests but that the public should exercise control over it. In many temples, people of the so-called lower castes were not allowed to enter and sometimes even some roads adjoining the temples were barred to them. The reformers launched powerful movements for temple-entry and against other evil practices which had become associated with temples. Unfortunately, in spite of the work done by reformers since the 19th century, even now there are instances in some parts of the country when some people are debarred entry into the temples on grounds of caste.

Dayanand Saraswati and Arya Samaj

The most influential movement of religious and social reform in northern India was started by Dayanand Saraswati. Dayanand, whose original name was Mul Shankara, was born in Kathiawad in 1824. At the age of 14, he became a rebel by rejecting idol worship. Soon after, he left home and led the life of a wandering scholar in search of knowledge. During this period, he acquired mastery over Sanskrit language and literature .

In 1863 Dayanand started preaching his doctrine— there was only one God who was to be worhipped not in the form of images but as a spirit. He held that the Vedas contained all the knowledge imparted to man by God and essentials of modern science could also be traced there. With this message, he went about all over the country and in 1875 founded the Arya Samaj in Bombay. Dayanand preached and wrote in Hindi. The *Satyarth Prakash* was his most important book. The use of Hindi made his ideas accessible to the common people of northern India. The Arya Samaj made rapid progress in Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Guajrat and particularly in Punjab where it became a very important social and political force.

The members of the Arya Samaj were guided by "Ten Principles" of which the first one was studying the Vedas. The rest were tenets on virtue and morality. Dayanand framed for them a code of social conduct, in which there was no room for caste distinctions and social inequality. The Arya Samajists opposed child marriages and encouraged remarriage of widows.

A network of schools and colleges for boys and girls was established throughout northern India to promote the spread of education. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School of Lahore, which soon developed into a premier college of Punjab, set the pattern for such institutions. Here instruction was given through English and Hindi on modern lines. Those among his disciples who wanted to maintain the original spirit of Dayanand founded the Gurukul at Hardwar. This was set up on the pattern of ancient Ashrams.

Dayanand preached that the Vedas were infallible. This was because of his ardent desire to give the Hindus a definite set of religious beliefs, which would give them a militant character. Similar in nature was his move for the reconversion of those Hindus who had been converted to other religions like Islam and Christianity. For this purpose a purificatory ceremony called *Shuddhi* was prescribed.

Many reformers about whom you have read before, referred to the Vedas and other ancient texts to support their ideas of religious and social reform. They, however, upheld their ideas mainly on the basis of reason and some of them openly questioned the authority of ancient scriptures. Dayanand, on the other hand, asserted the infallibility of the Vedas. The influence of Dayanand and Arya Samaj, however, in the promotion of education, uplift of the position of women and weakening the hold of the caste system was deeper than that of many other reform movements.

Ramakrishna Mission and Vivekananda

Another important reformer of the later half of the 19th century was Ramakrishna Paramhansa (1836-1886) who was a priest in a temple at Dakshineswar near Calcutta. After coming in contact with the leaders of other religions, he accepted the sanctity of all faiths. By simplicity of character and homely wisdom, he won the heart of all who gathered around him. Almost all religious reformers of his time, including Keshab Chandra Sen and Dayanand called on him for religious discussion and guidance. The contemporary Indian intellectuals, whose faith in their own culture had been shaken by the challenge from the West, found reassurance from his teachings.

In order to propagate the teachings of Ramakrishna and put them into practice, Ramakrishna Mission was founded in 1897 by his favourite disciple Vivekananda. The Mission stood for social service. "The best way to serve God is to serve mankind" was its motto. Ramakrishna Mission, since its beginning, has grown into a very powerful centre of numerous public activities. These include organising relief during floods, famines and epidemics, establishing hospitals and running educational institutions.

Vivekananda (1863-1902) had a character altogether different from that of his master. He studied deeply Indian and western philosophies but could not find peace of mind until he met Ramakrishna. He was, however, not content just with spirituality. The question that constantly agitated him was the degenerated condition of his motherland. After an all-India tour he found everywhere "poverty, squalor, loss of mental vigour and no hope for the future." He frankly stated, "It is we who are responsible for all our misery and all our degradation". He urged his countrymen to work for their own salvation.

For this purpose Vivekananda took upon himself the task of awakening his countrymen and reminding them of their weaknesses. He inspired them"to struggle unto life and death to bring about a new state of things— sympathy for the poor, and bread to their hungry mouths, enlightenment to the people at large". A band of workers devoted to this cause were trained through the Ramakrishna Mission.

Vivekananda's activities outside India helped in promoting an understanding of Indian culture abroad. In 1893, he participated in the All World Religions Conference (Parliament of Religions) at Chicago in the U.S.A.. His address there made a deep impression on the people of other countries and thus helped to raise the prestige of Indian culture in the eyes of the world.

Muslim Reform Movements

Among the Muslims the first signs of awakening appeared in the early 19th century, under the leadership of people like Syed Ahmad of Bareilly in Uttar Pradesh and Shariatullah of Bengal. They held that because of the degeneration of Islam in India it had fallen into the hands of the British. They set themselves to the task of purifying and strengthening Islam and promoting Islamic learning. The movements started by them have been mentioned earlier, in the chapter on Revolts against the British Rule. Shariatullah was the leader of the Faraizi movement in Bengal which took up the cause of the peasants. He also condemned the evil influence of the caste system among Muslims.

The influence of Western ideas and modern education spread among the Muslims later than among some sections of the Hindus. During the first half of the 19th century only a handful of Muslims of Delhi and Calcutta had taken to English education. Most of them kept themselves away from it because of the attitude of the Ulema, who were the traditional custodians of Islamic learning, and the unwillingness of the upper class Muslims to reconcile themselves to the British rule. The British had gradually robbed both these groups of their influence and rendered them powerless. Deprived of English education and its social and economic advantages, a middle class did not grow among the Indian Muslims for a long time.

The ill feeling between the British and the Muslims greatly increased as a result of the revolt of 1857 in which, you may remember, Muslims had actively participated. At this stage a few enlightened Muslims felt the need for adopting a cooperative policy towards the rulers and improving their social condition with the help of the latter. A few movements were also launched aiming at the spread of modern education and removing social abuses like the *Purdah* and the polygamy. The Mohammedan Literary Society of Calcutta, founded in 1863 by Nawab Abdul Latif (1828-1893) was one of the earliest organizations to take steps in this direction. It played an important role in the spread of education, particularly among the Muslims in Bengal. Abdul Latif also played an important role in promoting Hindu-Muslim unity

Syed Ahmad Khan and Aligarh Movement

The most important movement for the spread of modern education and social reform among Muslims was started by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) came from a family of nobles of the Mughal Court. He joined the service of the Company as a judicial officer and remained loyal to them during the revolt of 1857. The British rulers regarded the Muslims as their 'real enemies and most dangerous rivals' and followed a policy of discrimination against them. Syed Ahmad Khan was deeply concerned at the depressed position of the Muslims and raising them from their backwardness became his life-long passion. He strove hard to remove the hostility of the British rulers towards the Muslims and to persuade the Muslims to accept the religious and educational reforms.

Reforming religion and education was an uphill task. He appealed to the Muslims to return to the original Islamic principle of purity and simplicity. He advocated English education for the regeneration of Muslims in India. What had happened to Rammohun half a century earlier was almost repeated now. Syed Ahmad Khan had to face opposition from the orthodox sections of Muslims. However, with courage and wisdom, he overcame these obstacles. In 1864, he founded the Translation Society which was later renamed the Scientific Society. The Society was located at Aligarh. It published Urdu translations of English books on scientific and other subjects, and an English-Urdu journal for spreading liberal ideas on social reform. His greatest achievement was the establishment of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1875. In course of time, this College became the most important educational institution of Indian Muslims. It provided for education in humanities and science through English medium and many of its staff members came from England. The College received support from the leading Muslims throughout India and the British showed much interest, both officially and otherwise in its development.

The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental (M.A.O.) College, which later on became the Aligarh Muslim University, fostered a modern outlook among the generations of students that studied there. The college, and later when it became a university, attracted students from all communities. It, however, played a particularly important role in the awakening of Muslims in India. The movement of Muslim awakening associated with Syed Ahmad Khan and M.A.O. College came to be known as the Aligarh Movement.

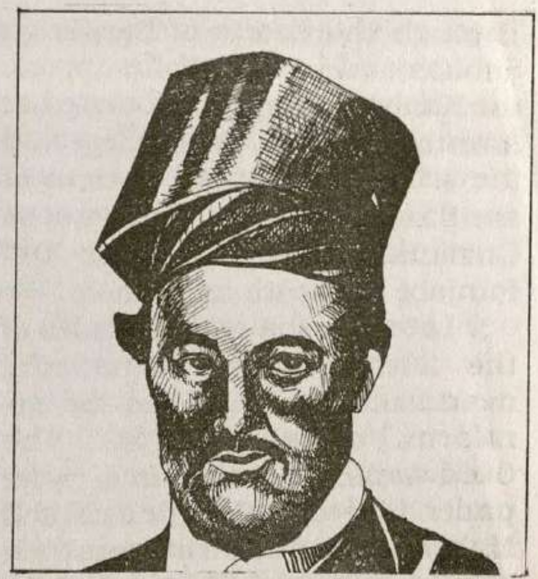
Syed Ahmad Khan opposed the activities of the Indian National Congress. He believed, like many other leaders at that time, that

Indians were not yet ready to govern themselves and that their interests would be best served by remaining loyal to the British rule. He founded the Indian Patriotic Association with the support of some Hindu and Muslim leaders to oppose the Congress and tried to dissuade the Muslims from joining the Congress. He wanted more time for the Indian Muslims to organize and consolidate their position and thought that this could be best done by maintaining good relations with the British rulers.

Though Syed Ahmad Khan opposed the Indian National Congress, he emphasized the unity between Hindus and Muslims. He held the view that "in consideration of the fact that we (Hindus and Muslims) belong to the same country, we are a nation, and the progress and usefulness of the country, and of both of us, depend on our unity, mutual sympathy and love".

Besides introducing modern education among the Muslims, Syed Ahmad Khan advocated the removal of many social prejudices that kept the community backward. His emphasis on science particularly offended the orthodox Muslims.

Reform Movements among Parsis and Sikhs



Naoroji Furdoonji

Reform movements aiming at eradication of social evils, some of which had become associated with religious practices, emancipation of women and spread of modern education spread to other communities. Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917) and Naoroji Furdoonji (1817-1885) were among the pioneers of religious and social reform in the Parsi community. Together, they started a journal, *Rast Goftar*, for the purpose and played an important role in the spread of education, particularly among girls. Another important social reformer in the Parsi community was Sorabji Bengali.

Among the Sikhs, the movement for reform was started by the Singh Sabhas which were formed at Amritsar and Lahore in the 1870's. The two Sabhas, which later merged, played an important role in the spread of education.

Through the efforts of the Singh Sabhas and with British support, the Khalsa College was founded at Amritsar in 1892. This college and the schools set up as a result of similar efforts, promoted Gurmukhi, Sikh learning and Punjabi literature as a whole.

Later, in the early decades of the 20th century, a powerful movement was launched for the reform of Gurdwaras. The Gurdwaras, at that time, were under the control of priests and Mahants who treated them as their private property. The movement was led by the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee and the Akali Dal and aimed at handing over control of the Gurdwaras to representatives of the Sikh community. The movement was led on peaceful lines but those who took part in the movement suffered inhuman cruelties at the hands of people hired by the corrupt Mahants as well as the British police. By this time, the people all over the country had awakened and the struggle for freedom under Gandhiji's leadership had become a mass movement. The leaders of the freedom movement supported the cause for which the Sikh masses were fighting. In 1925, a law was passed which gave the right of managing Gurdwaras to the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee.

Progress of Social Reforms

While the enlightened Indians were trying to reform their society on the basis of rational and liberal principles, what had been the attitude of their rulers towards this problem ? We find that in the post-1857 period, the British government showed extreme unwillingness in the matter of reforms. Their attitude was one of appeasing the orthodox upper sections of society. During the second half of the 19th century only two important laws were passed. One of these, passed in 1872, sanctioned inter-caste and inter-communal marriages. The other, passed in 1891, aimed at discouraging child marriage. These laws were passed at the instance of two Indian reformers, Keshab Chandra Sen and Behramji Malabari. For preventing child marriage, a more positive step was taken much later, in 1929, when the Sharda Act was passed. According to it a girl below 14 and a boy below 18 could not be married.

In course of time, public enthusiasm shifted more towards the freedom movement which involved people mainly in the political struggle. But organizations like the Indian National Social Conference, which we have mentioned above, continued their campaigns against social injustices. As before, they concentrated on the removal of the abuses affecting women and people of the so-called lower castes. But the efforts to abolish polygamy, or to allow property right to women, or permit people who were considered untouchable to enter temples did not achieve much success, though some laws regarding women's right to property and temple entry for 'untouchables' were passed in the 1930's.

In the struggle for freedom, women took part in large numbers. This, in itself, marked a big step forward in their emancipation. The fight against untouchability was made a part of the struggle for freedom by Gandhiji. The struggle for freedom from foreign rule was, at the same time, a struggle for the reconstruction of Indian society.

Education

You may remember the steps that the Company's government had taken for educational development. An annual allotment of a lakh of rupees was provided for this purpose by the Charter Act of 1813 and in 1835 the Governor-General, Bentinck, had decided to promote Western education among the Indian subjects. In 1854 the government declared its intention of "creating a properly articulated system of education from the primary school to the university." This was an important landmark in the educational progress of modern India.

This declaration, known as the **Wood's Despatch**, was worked out in detail after the revolt of 1857 and led to the establishment of Public Instruction Departments in the provinces, foundation of a university in each of the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and allotment of government grants to private schools and colleges. A new service called the Indian Educational Service was also introduced which recruited teachers for government institutions all over the country.

These measures led to an increase in the number of schools and colleges run by the government as well as by missionaries and other private organizations. At the same time, government control over education grew.

The growth of education was not, however, uniform at all levels and more attention was given to the expansion of high schools and colleges. Primary schools, particularly, suffered for lack of funds and the vast masses of the country remained illiterate.

The result was that by the beginning of the 20th century, four out of five Indian villages were without a primary school and three out of four children grew up without any education. Higher education was a slavish imitation of the Western system, unrelated to the needs of the country. Some improvements were made in the quality of higher education, particularly when Indians began to have an increased say in managing education and when the number of Indian teachers increased. The British rulers, however, made every effort to maintain their control over education and to prevent the spread of partiotism among students and teachers.

Indian leaders themselves played a leading role in the spread of education. Earlier in this chapter you have read about the importance which every reformer gave to education and the efforts they made, sometimes with the help of the government, but often on their own, in the spread of education. During the early years of 20th century, leaders of the freedom movement formed a National Council of Education as a revolt against British control over education. They set up national schools and a National College. Later, they established Vidyapeeths at Banaras and Ahmedabad and Jamia Millia Islamia at Aligarh (later shifted to Delhi). They also tried to give a new shape to education

Rabindranath Tagore

Rabindranath Tagore established the Vishva-Bharati at Santiniketan. Schools were started following the Nai Talim scheme of Gandhiji which aimed at making students self-reliant. Dr. Zakir Husain, who bacame the third President of the Republic of India, played a leading role in developing this new system of education. Illiteracy remained one of the most important problems of India under the British rule. One of India's foremost nationalist leaders, G.K. Gokhale, said in 1903, "It is obvious that an illiterate and ignorant nation can never make any solid progress and must fall back in the race of life". To remove illiteracy from India he and others repeatedly made the demand for introducing free and compulsory education for children from the age of six to 10 years. But little was done by the government in this regard. In 1947, when India became independent, only 24 per cent of the males and seven per cent of the females in India were literate.

Cultural Awakening

The movements of religious and social reform were a part of the awakening of the Indian people which began in the 19th century. It affected every aspect of culture and was further stimulated by developments in various aspects of culture.

Pride in India's Past

Most of the British officials and others who came to India denigrated Indian culture and civilization. They claimed to belong to a superior civilization and a superior race. The Indians at this time started studying the early history and culture of the Indian people. A number of British and European scholars also played an important role in the 'discovery' of India's past. William Jones was a pioneer in this regard. In 1784, he founded the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. The Asiatic Society encouraged the study of India's ancient and medieval past, her history, languages, literature, philosophy, arts, science and law. A number of Indian and European scholars engaged themselves in this work. The Society published their works as well as the texts of ancient writings and their English translations. William Jones himself translated India's ancient classic, Kalidasa's *Abhijnansakuntalam*, into English. You may recall that one of the greatest emperors of ancient India, Asoka, had his inscriptions engraved on pillars and rocks in different parts of the country. The knowledge of the script in which these inscriptions were written had been lost to the Indians. Scholars in the 19th century, after hard work, were able to read this script and, thus, opened a vast source of knowlege for understanding India's ancient past. The reformers about whom you have read were all persons of great learning. A number of other scholars devoted themselves to the study of the great heritage of India, her achievements in culture and civilization.

The knowledge that Indian civilization in the ancient and medieval periods was equal to any other civilization restored the self-

Prinsep, who deciphered the Brahmi script in 1834

respect of the people. It gave them confidence that they were capable of shaping their own destiny. There was also an unhealthy aspect of their discovery of India's past greatness. Some people began to glorify everything ancient. They began to think in terms of reviving the past. This kind of thinking, of backward looking, did not help in getting a correct understanding of the past. It also led to a neglect of or a wrong understanding of the problems that India was facing and of the suitable ways of dealing with them.

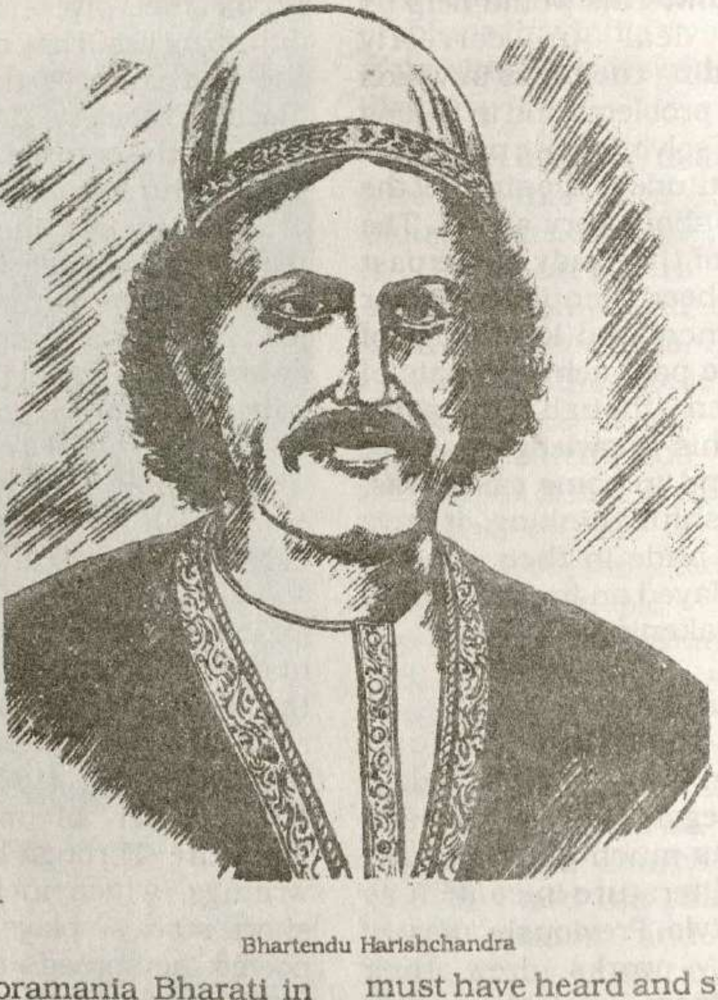
Later, however, many scholars, gave up this kind of thinking, though some continued to cling to it. These scholars were not concerned only with discovering India's past greatness. They tried to find out how the people in India, in earlier ages, lived; how they produced their food and other necessities of life; in what respects and how the life of the people changed in course of time; what the beliefs of the people were and how these too changed; what languages they spoke and what they composed or wrote in those languages. These scholars also wanted to find out about the works of art—sculptures, temples, mosques and churches, palaces and forts and the paintings—the people created; and why India stopped progressing and why it fell victim to foreign rule. It is to these and many other questions that they tried to find out the answers through their studies. They said that while taking pride in the achievements of our country in earlier times, we should also be aware of our weaknesses and failures and, more importantly, we should try to find out as accurately as possible what happened in the past and how. This would help us a great deal in correctly understanding the times in which we live, our problems and in finding out ways of solving those problems.

This attitude to the study of the past came about very slowly. The beginning of the study of the past which has been mentioned earlier led to an increased knowledge of some of the past achievements of India. Even though, in some respects, this knowledge was not accurate and in some cases was, mainly, wishful thinking, it gave the people pride in their country and thus played an important role in their awakening.

Literature and Art

From the 19th century, literature in every modern Indian language began to grow. In many ways, it was much different from the earlier literature in content as well as in style. Previously, most of the literary works drew their themes from religion and mythology. Most of them were composed in verse. Now prose writing became important, and new forms of literary writing such as novel, short story, drama and essay began to develop. The themes of literary writings in these new forms and in poetry were basically humanistic, that is, they were concerned with the life of the people, their problems, aspirations and struggles. They began to reflect the vast changes that had taken place in society. Literature was brought closer to life. The language of literature was also no longer artificial, it was increasingly the real living language. Literature also became an important instrument for promoting social reforms, awareness of social problems and, patriotism and nationalism.

Most of the reformers about whom you have already read such as Rammohun Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Veeresalingam, Gopal Hari Deshmukh Lokahitwadi and others made important contributions to the growth of literature in their respective languages. Bhartendu Harishchandra (1850-1885) was the pioneer of modern Hindi literature. Through his numerous writings, which included a novel, short stories, plays, essays and poems, he spread ideas of reform and condemnation of social injustice. Some of the other pioneers and great writers in some other Indian languages were Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya and Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali, Gurazada Appa Rao in Telugu, Hari Narayana Apte in Marathi, Kumaran Asan and Vallathol K. Narayan Menon in Malayalam, Fakirmohan Senapthi



Bhartendu Harishchandra

in Oriya, Subramania Bharati in Tamil, Hemchandra Barua in Assamese, K. Venkatappa Gowda Puttappa in Kannada and Mohammad Iqbal in Urdu. You perhaps already know that a song which Rabindranath Tagore composed more than 80 years ago became the National Anthem of independent India. Two national songs of our country which you must have heard and sung, *Bande Mataram* and *Saare Jahan Se Acchcha* were composed by Bankim Chandra and Iqbal respectively. In 1913, Tagore was given the Nobel Prize, the highest international prize, for literature. In the 20th century, literature in all Indian languages was deeply influenced by the struggle for freedom. It played a very important role in arousing

Bankim Chandra Chhattopadhyaya

the patriotism of the people. It also aroused the people against injustices and oppression prevailing in Indian society. One of the most outstanding Indian writers, Prem Chand, wrote about the misery of the poor and the oppressed in India's villages. He wrote in Urdu and, later, in Hindi.

Important developments also took place in the field of art. Abanindranath Tagore and others tried to revive the classical Indian tradition of painting. The school of painting which grew as a result of these efforts is known as the Bengal School. Raja Ravi Verma painted legends from Indian epics and myths. The Western traditions of painting also deeply influenced Indian artists. An outstanding artist of the later period of the British rule was Amrita Shergil. She and other Indian artists gave expression to the everyday life of the people in their paintings, though each had his or her own

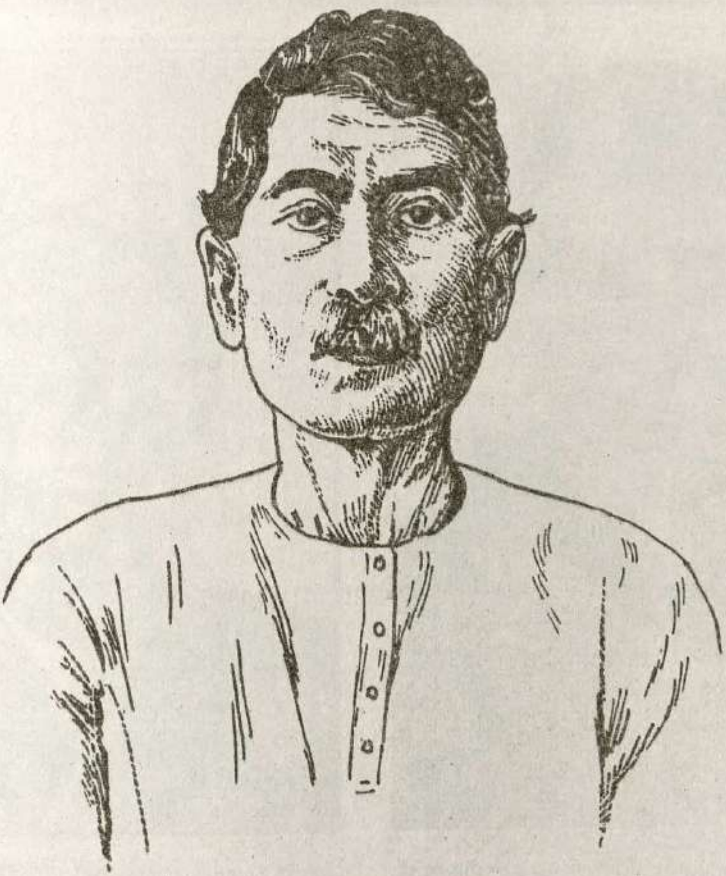
Subramania Bharati

Mohammad Iqbal

individual style. Nandalal Bose, for example, painted scenes from the ancient legends as well as from the daily life of artisans and craftsmen. They were also drawn into the struggle for freedom.

Growth of the Press

Some of the earliest newspapers in India were started by the British, mainly for the British. During the course of the 19th century and later, however, a powerful Indian press grew, both in English and Indian languages. Most of the reformers had either themselves started or were connected with newspapers and journals. With the growth of political consciousness and the beginning of political activities by Indians in the later part of the 19th century, there was a great increase in the number of Indian newspapers and journals. While some of the English newspapers which were owned by the British were supporters of the British rule, most of the others, both in English and Indian languages, voiced the aspirations of the Indian people. They voiced the grievances of the Indian people and gave expression to their social, economic and political demands. They made people aware of the happenings in different parts of the country as well as of the world. During the struggle for freedom, they became a powerful instrument for mobilizing the people. Many of these newspapers suffered persecution at the hands of the British rulers for their support to the nationalist movement. Sometimes the newspapers were closed down by the British and their editors jailed. Some of the earliest newspapers were *The*

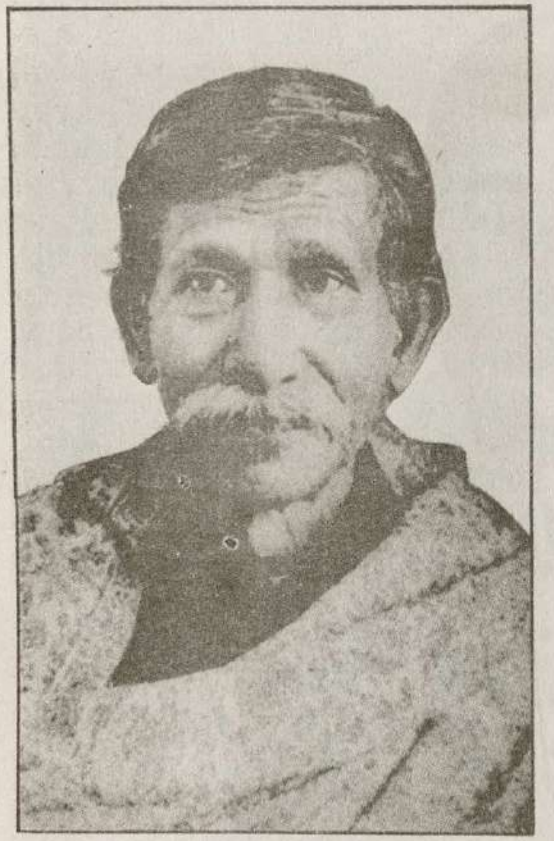


Prem Chand

Hindu, *The Indian Mirror*, *The Tribune*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Kesari*, the *Mahratta*, the *Swadeshamitran*, the *Prabhakar* and *The Indu-Prakash*.

Growth of Science

One of the major reasons why many Indian reformers like Rammohun Roy favoured English education was the importance they attached to the teaching of science. In the old Indian system of education, science had been neglected. The reformers believed that the neglect of science in India had been the principal reason for India's backwardness. They pressed for giving emphasis to the teaching of science. Many reformers set up scientific societies for the popularization of science.



Motilal Ghose, one of the founder-editors of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*

C.V. Raman

The introduction of modern science in India began in the early 19th century. Later, after the setting up of universities, departments of science were set up Indians, in increasing numbers, took to the study of science and many of them made original contributions to various branches of science. In doing so, they had to free themselves of many superstitions. For mastering medicine and to practise surgery. for example, the student-doctors had to learn about human body by dissecting corpses. This was, however, considered sinful. Mahendralal Sircar was the first Indian medical student to dissect the human body. In 1876, he founded the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. This became the premier organization for the promotion and popularization of science. In the

S. Visvesvarya

1920's the Indian Science Congress Association was set up. Scientists from different parts of the country gathered together at sessions of the Science Congress to exchange views and share their experiences with one another.

The country produced a large number of scientists in every branch of science, some of whom won international fame. These include P.C. Ray, J.C. Bose, C.V. Raman, Satyen Bose, Meghnath Saha, D.N. Wadia and Birbal Sahni. C.V. Raman was given the Nobel Prize for his work in physics in 1930. P.C. Mahalanobis was an outstanding scholar who established statistics as a branch of science in India. S. Ramanujan was one of the greatest mathematicians of this century. The most outstanding personality which India, during the period of British rule, produced in the area of engineering and technology was S. Visvesvarya (1861-1962). During his long life, he worked in different parts of the country and made significant contributions to various branches of engineering and technology, from the building of dams, development of hydro-electric power and promotion of sericulture to the growth of technical education.

The growth of science was a part of the general awakening of the Indian people. The movement for national education which has been mentioned before gave a fillip to science education throughout the country. The leaders of the struggle for freedom were fully conscious of the importance of science in the development of the country. Indian scientists who had established themselves in almost every branch of science were aware of their responsibility to the development of their country. They were hampered in their work by the British rule as the facilities for research were extremely inadequate. Due to the low level of industrial development in the country, they could not use their knowledge for the development of the country. In their meetings and conferences, which were sometimes also addressed by leaders of the freedom movement, they often discussed problems of how to further promote science in India and how to relate it to the needs of the country.

All these developments in the areas of religious and social reform, education, literature and art, press and science and in various other areas were related to the awakening of the Indian people.

The changes in economic life, about which you have read before, and these development together promoted the national consciousness of the Indian people. The growth of national consciousness led to the struggle for freedom from British rule.

EXERCISES

I. Answer the following questions.

1. What was the impact of British rule on the thinking of the Indian people towards their own society ?
2. When and by whom was the Brahmo Samaj founded ? What were the main principles of the Brahmo Samaj ?
3. What were the main achievements of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar ?
4. What is meant by the Young Bengal movement ? What was Derozio's role in it ?
5. What was the attitude of Keshab Chandra Sen towards the caste system and the position of women in society ?
6. Who was the founder of Arya Samaj ? What were his teachings ?
7. What was the contribution of Arya Samaj to the spread of education in India ?
8. What was Prarthana Samaj and what were its main activities ?
9. What were the main activities of the Ramakrishna Mission ?
10. What was the contribution of Vivekananda to the awakening of the Indian people ?
11. What was the contribution of Syed Ahmad Khan in the spread of education and the awakening of the Muslims ?
12. What were the defects in the educational system established by the British in India ?

13. Trace the history of the educational policy of the British government after 1853.
14. Describe the contribution of Indians to the spread of education in the 20th century.
15. What were the new features of modern Indian literature ?
16. What were the main activities of the reform movements among the Sikhs ?
17. What was the role of Veeresalingam in the spread of social reform ? In which part of the country was his influence widely felt ?
18. What are the movements associated with the names of Jotiba Phule and Sree Narayana Guru ?
19. What were the major developments in the field of art and culture in the 19th and 20th centuries ?
20. Describe major landmarks in the growth of modern science in India.

II. In column 'A' are given the names of some organizations and institutions and in column 'B' the names of some persons. Match column 'A'with column 'B'.

A	B
1. Brahmo Samaj	Vivekananda
2. Arya Samaj	Keshab Chandra Sen
3. Prarthana Samaj	Dayanand
4. Ramakrishna Mission	Syed Ahmad Khan
5. M.A.O. College	Mahadev Govind Ranade
6. Satya Shodhak Samaj	Narayana Guru
7. S.N.D.P.	Jotiba Phule

III. Things to Do

1. Collect the photographs of the founders of various religious and social reform organizations of the 19th century. Paste them in an album.
2. Read the biographies of some of the reformers whose photographs you have collected.
3. Prepare a chart for the classroom showing the activities of some of the social and religious reformers.

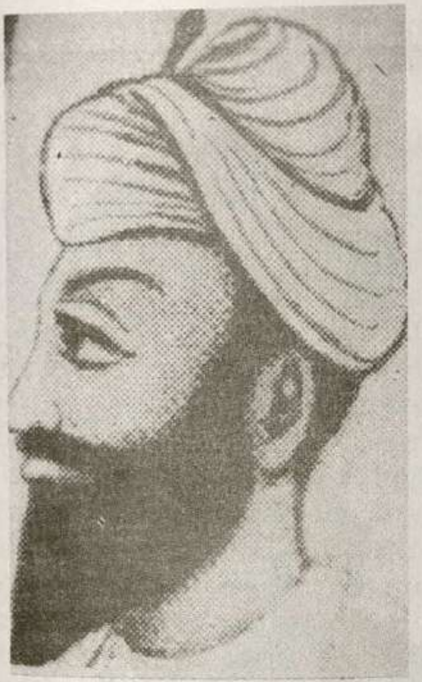
CHAPTER NINE

Rise of Indian Nationalism

IN THE the previous chapters, you have read about the changes which took place in India's economic life after the suppression of the revolt of 1857, about the religious and social reform movements and about developments in various aspects of culture. For many years after the suppression of the revolt of 1857, armed uprisings against the British rule continued to break out in different parts of the country. Simultaneously, with growing political and national consciousness among the people, a different kind of movement began to take shape which soon took the form of a country-wide struggle for freedom.

Armed Revolts after 1857

You have already read about the revolt started by Syed Ahmad Barelvi. The rebellious activities of the Wahabis, the name generally given to the followers of Syed Ahmad Barelvi continued till long after 1857. It took the British thousands of troops to finally suppress the Wahabis in the 1870's. In 1867, a centre for religious education among Muslims was set up at Deoband near Saharanpur in Uttar Pradesh. This centre continued to instil love for freedom and feelings of hostility to British rule among its pupils. It opposed the activities of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who was trying to promote English education among Muslims as well as loyalty towards the British rule. Among the Sikhs in Punjab, a movement called the Kuka movement was organized by Guru Ram Singh. The Kukas rose in arms against the British rule but were brutally suppressed in 1872. Many Kuka rebels were executed.



Hira Singh, a Kuka rebel who was tied to the mouth of a gun and blown to pieces in 1872.

Some of them were tied to the mouth of the gun and blown up. There were many peasant revolts. The indigo revolt in Bengal has already been mentioned. There were other revolts by peasants, in Bengal, Bihar and Maharashtra. There were also revolts by the tribal people in different parts of the country. In 1879-1880 and again in 1886, there was the Rampa rebellion in Andhra which was directed against the British rule as well as the exploitation of the landlords and moneylenders. In the Chotanagpur area of Bihar, the Mundas rose in revolt in the 1890's. They were led by Birsa Munda. In 1900, the revolt was suppressed. Birsa Munda who was captured died in jail soon after. It was suspected that he had been poisoned. Tikendrajit led an anti-British uprising in Manipur. The uprising was suppressed and Tikendrajit was executed. In 1879, in Maharashtra, Vasudeo Balwant Phadke organized an armed revolt against the British. With money

Birsa Munda

Tikendrajit Singh

robbed from money-lenders, he tried to form an army. The revolt was, however, shortlived. Phadke was captured and sentenced to imprisonment for life.

There were many other armed uprisings in different parts of the country during the period after 1857. These uprisings were an indication of the widespread discontent against the British rule prevailing in the country. However, they were mostly localized and did not pose a serious threat to the British rule in India.

Vasudev Balwant Phadke

Rise of National Consciousness

Besides these revolts, there gradually grew in India a movement which expressed the aspirations of the Indian people as a *nation*. It was more widespread than any of the previous revolts and movements and represented demands not of one section or community or region, but of the entire nation. With this, the struggle for independence became national in character. It united the Indian people into one entity as nothing else had done before.

You have read in your books on Ancient India and Medieval India how, through the long course of their history, the people of India had developed a rich common culture. Great and mighty emperors like Ashoka and Akbar had brought together large parts of India under one empire. There were also long periods of political disunity. In the 18th century, the country was divided into a number of small and big kingdoms which fought against one another, each trying to preserve and strengthen itself against the others. You are also familiar with the conditions because of which the British were able to establish their rule over India. The lack of unity in the country was not merely because of the disunity among the rulers. Many factors that unite a people such as a common economic life were also absent. There were many other reasons for disunity also, like the caste system. However, this lack of unity in society did not mean that the people fought against one another or hated one another. On the contrary, the growth of a common culture was a factor of unity. There was, as there still is, a wide variety in religious beliefs, customs, languages and arts and each religion, custom, language and style of art influenced and was also influenced by others. This 'give and take' process had been an important feature of the culture of the Indian people. This had created a spirit of mutual tolerence and respect amongst people belonging to different communities and regions. The conflicts and wars among rulers did not create conflicts among the common people. When we speak of a lack of unity, we mean the lack of an awareness that all the people inhabiting India had common interests and common bonds which distinguished them as a people from other peoples.

You have read earlier of the rise of nationalism and the formation of nation-states in Europe. The countries which were divided into a number of states tried to unite themselves and those which were under foreign rule struggled to become independent. In many countries, the kings, supported by the middle classes—the traders, manufacturers and others—established their strong rule. By destroying the power of the feudal lords, they brought about unity in their countries. In these countries, after some time, the people struggled for the establishment of democratic forms of government. They demanded that the government of their country be elected by them and be responsible to them alone. As a result, the powers of the kings were destroyed in many countries. In France, after the revolution of 1789, monarchy was abolished and the king of France was beheaded. In this way, the ideas of nationalism and democracy became inseparable. People belonging to a nation that was divided into small political units o was under foreign domination began to organize movements for national unification, independence and democracy. However, when these developments were taking place in Europe, India fell victim to foreign rule. The British rule destroyed India's old social and economic system and political order. Nationalism in India, therefore, grew in conditions which were created by the British rule.

Antagonism of the Indian People to British Rule

You have seen before that the British ruled India to preserve and promote their own political and economic interests. India was treated by the British rulers as a field of exploitation and there was nothing common between the interests of Indian people and the aims for which Britain had subjugated India. There were, of course, certain sections among Indians, about whom you have read before, that were supported by the British with a view to strengthening the British rule. With the exception of these sections, the interests of the entire Indian people were opposed to those of the British in India. The changes that took place in the social, economic and political life of India under the British rule helped the people to unite and organize themselves into a movement against the British rule. These changes were the result of policies that Britain pursued in India to promote her own interests. But their consequence was to unite the people against the British rule. The British rule thus created conditions for its own destruction.

Political and Administrative Unification

Under the British rule, almost the entire country was united as one political unit. Besides the territories that were directly under the British rule or British India, there were Indian States under Indian rulers but these were also under the paramount control of the British government. They were entirely at the mercy of the British rule and were independent only in name. They could not have relations with other countries.

Their 'defence' against other countries was completely in British hands. The people of these States were also considered British subjects. Some of these States had actually been created by the British. The political unification of India, though achieved under foreign rulers and for their benefit, was an important development. A uniform system of administration all over the British-ruled territories strengthened this further. The laws were made uniform and, in theory at least, applied to everyone equally. Equality before law was a factor of unity as in the eyes of law everyone enjoyed the same rights. A common system of administration and uniformity of laws throughout the country promoted feelings of commonness and unity among people living in different parts of the country.

Economic Changes

You have already read about the changes in economic life which the British rule brought about in India. These changes led to growing interdependence between different parts of the country and the growth of a common economic life. Improvements in the means of transport, particularly the building of railways, made the movement of goods and people from one part of the country to another much easier and faster than ever before. Many of these changes were forced on the people by the British and caused much suffering. However, the growth of interdependence was an important factor in uniting the people and developing in them common aspirations.

Another important development in the economic, life was the rise of modern industry in India. You have read before that the Indian crafts were destroyed as a result of British economic policies. India was treated as a market for British manufacturers and as a source of raw materials for British industries. The development of industries in India was very slow due to the policy followed by the British government. It was also lopsided. As has been mentioned before, certain basic industries such as machine building were totally ignored. The few industries that were set up were concentrated in a few areas of the country. In spite of these serious weaknesses, the beginning of modern industry marked a very important change in the economic life.

Modern trade and industries are great unifying forces. They bring different parts of a country in close contact. Even if an industry is situated in an isolated part of the country, the raw material for it may be produced in areas far away from there. Similarly, the goods that a factory produces are not all consumed by people living near the place of their production. Thus different areas of the country become interdependent and are brought closer to one another. Such an interdependence contributes to the growth of unity among people.

Modern industries also lead to the growth of big industrial towns where large number of people work together. People working in industries come from many different parts of the country and belong to different castes and creeds. Conditions are thus created where differences of caste, community or region tend to lose their importance. Working together in factories creates a sense of solidarity among the people. It makes it possible for people to combine and to start movements in support of their own specific as well as common demands together with people in other parts of the country. The cities become the breeding grounds of political movements. Because of these reasons, the growth of industries is of very great importance in uniting a people into a nation. The modern industries that began to develop in India in the second half of the 19th century helped in the growth of national consciousness.

You have already read about the rise of new classes and groups in society as a result of the changes in economic life. With the growth of industries, the two important classes in society were the capitalists and the industrial workers. Industrialization of the country was important for the further growth of both these classes. The British rule which stood in the way of India's industrial development was, therefore, inimical to both, though in many other respects their interests were not the same. Each of them also had common all-India interests. For example, the owners of the textile factories to whichever part of the country they belonged were equally affected by the British economic policies and had common problems and objectives. The people belonging to the new educated middle class also had common interests and common grievances against the British rule. National consciousness, the consciousness that they were the citizens of the same nation, took root first among these classes and groups,and they took the lead in voicing the demands and aspirations of the people of India.

Impact of Modern Education

The spread of modern education was an important factor in the promotion of national consciousness. The British government's objective in introducing English education was limited. Some Indians with English education were needed to work at the lower levels of administration. The British rulers also believed that Indians getting education through the medium of English would become supporters of the British rule. Indian leaders like Rammohun Roy had, however, welcomed its introduction for a different reason. In their view, the spread of English education would bring the advanced knowledge of the world to the people of India. Because of this, Indian leaders themselves made efforts for the spread of English education

In the second half of the 19th century, there was a significant expansion of education in India. Educated Indians became familiar with the literature in European languages as well as with happenings elsewhere in the world. Many revolutionary changes were taking place in the West in the 18th and 19th centuries. You have already read about the American and French revolutions. Great thinkers of the West wrote about democracy, equality and nationalism. The American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen gave forceful expression to the new revolutionary ideas. They asserted that the real rulers of a country were its people and it was the right of the people to overthrow a government which did not work according to their wishes and oppressed them.

The British rulers tried in schools and colleges to propagate ideas of loyalty to their government. However, the effect of education was quite the contrary. Education opened the gates of modern knowledge to Indians and they began to imbibe a nationalistic and democratic outlook. The revolutionary and nationalist movements in other countries became sources of inspiration to them.

The educated Indians all over the country began to develop a common outlook on the problems of their country. Influenced by democratic and nationalistic ideas, they began to see problems from the point of view, not of their respective regions or groups and communities, but of the entire nation. With the growth of a common outlook they also began to come together to discuss the problems facing Indian society. As higher education was imparted in English, all the educated Indians knew the English language. This also helped, because it made communication between the educated people of different parts of the country easier.

In the previous chapter, you have read about the movements of religious and social reform and developments in various areas of cultural life. They played a very crucial role in promoting an awareness of the problems of Indian society and a sense of unity among the people. These movements spread all over the country, cutting across different regions and, in some cases, different communities. Efforts to remove social evils and inequalities in society, and condemnation of superstitions and narrowness of outlook also helped people become aware of their political plight. The part played by the rediscovery of India's past and by literature in various Indian languages and the press in instilling a sense of pride and promoting national consciousness among the people has already been mentioned.

The educated Indians played a leading role in spreading nationalistic ideas all over the country. They translated European works into Indian languages and they themselves wrote books and brought out journals. They threw light on India's economic, social and political problems. These helped in spreading among the people an awareness of the problems of Indian society and the effects of British rule on India. They also realized the need to organize the people on political, economic and social issues on an all-India basis.

Discontent against British Rule

It has been said before that there was a basic antagonism between the interests of the Indian people and those of the British rulers. You have read before about the misery of the peasants and the ruination of the artisans and craftsmen as a result of the economic policies of the British rule in India. An indication of the terrible poverty of the Indian people was the frequent occurrence of famines which in the second half of the 19th century had taken a toll of 30 million (three crore) lives. India's economic backwardness was also due to the economic policies of the British rule. There was a growing realization that the misery of the Indian people and the economic backwardness of the country were caused by the British rule. The recognition that the British rule was inimical to their interests was the basis of the rise of national consciousness among the people of India. The educated Indians who had initially hoped that the British rule would help in the development of Indian industries and the modernization of India realized that their hopes were misplaced.

The heavy cost of running the British rule in India was borne by the Indian people. The wars waged against other countries by the British government in India led to greater exploitation of India. The expenditure on the huge army that the British maintained in India to suppress Indian people and to wage wars against countries with whom the Indian people had no conflict, was met from the taxes collected from the Indian people. While Indian resources were thus spent on purposes that were of no benefit to the Indian people, things demanding attention like irrigation, education and other welfare needs were neglected. Demands began to be raised for reduction in government expenditure on such things as the army, and for lessening the tax burdens on the people.

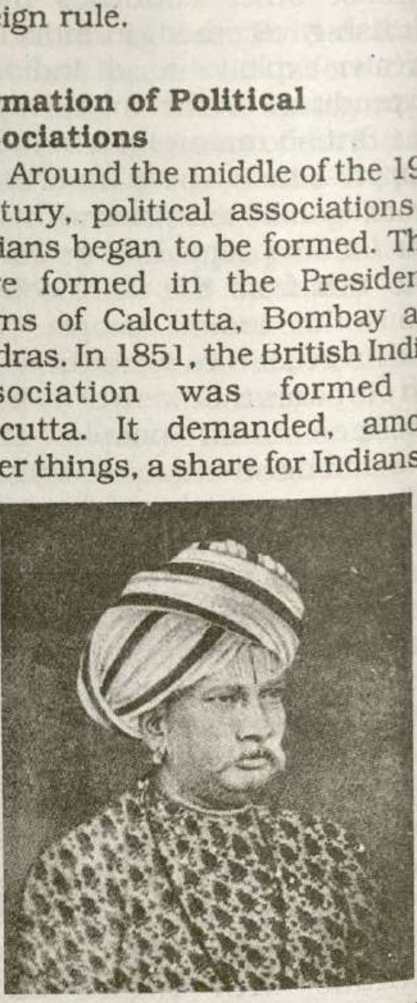
You have already read about the pattern of government established by the British in India. Indians had no say in running the government of their country. You have also read of the British attitude with regard to the recruitment of Indians to services. The British rulers looked upon even the highly educated Indians with contempt. Some Viceroys even suggested putting a ban on permitting Indians to appear in the competitive examinations for the Civil Service. They were always afraid of what they called the wits of educated Indians and tried to exclude them from service even after they had successfully competed in the examinations. Due to the expansion of education in the later half of the 19th century, the number of the educated people had been increasing. The opportunities for employment, however, were extremely limited. The result was that there was a growing number of unemployed educated youth in the country. This further added to the discontent against the British rule.

It is difficult for us today to imagine the humiliations that the Indians were made to suffer under foreign rule. Racial hatred for the subject people is common to all imperialists. It breeds in the ruling sections of the ruling country an attitude of racial superiority. They begin to think that God has specially created them to rule over inferior races. They treat the people of the subject country as subhumans. Racial hatred of Indians was common among the British officials in India. Though there were many individuals among the British, both in India and in Britain, who sympathized with the Indian people and supported them, the British rule promoted the attitude of racial hatred and racial arrogance towards the Indian people. Indians, even those who were rich or occupied important positions like judges, were insulted. Common people were beaten up and tortured. If a servant was beaten to death by his English master, the English judge trying him would let him off with a small fine. There were places which Indians were not allowed to enter. In the railway trains, there were compartments reserved for whites only. There were hospitals where Indian patients were not admitted. There were parks exclusively for Europeans. Resentment against these humiliations began to be expressed with the growth of national consciousness.

The basic freedoms like the freedom of thought, speech and expression began to be curbed to suppress the growth of nationalism. Newspapers were suppressed. Books were banned. For example, a book on the life of the leader of Italian unification, Mazzini, was banned. Even some books written by Englishmen were banned. However, in spite of this policy the rising national consciousness among the people of India began to be expressed in an organized form through political associations. They were started to give expression to specific grievances and demands. Gradually they developed into a united nation-wide movement for complete independence from foreign rule.

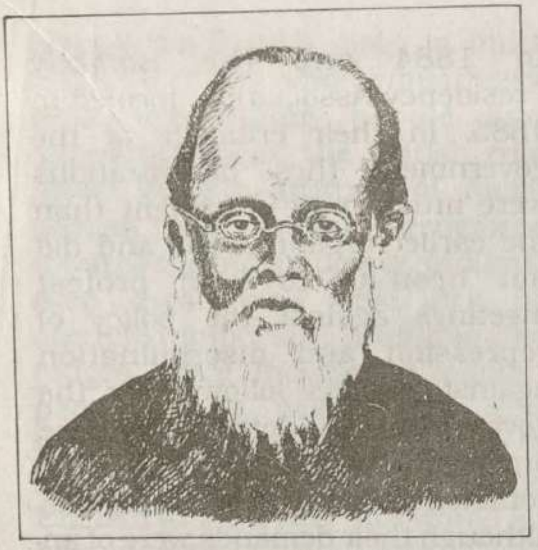
Formation of Political Associations

Around the middle of the 19th century, political associations of Indians began to be formed. They were formed in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. In 1851, the British Indian Association was formed in Calcutta. It demanded, among other things, a share for Indians in



Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty, founder of the Madras Native Association the administration of the country. The Bombay Association was set up in 1852 to make representations to the British authorities in India and Britiain to promote the welfare of the Indian people. The Madras Native Association, formed in 1852, also had similar objectives. They also demanded that Indians be allowed to hold high positions in the administration. The members of all these associations mostly came from the upper sections of Indian society. Their activities were of a limited character—sending petitions to the government and to British Parliament requesting them to introduce reforms in administration, associate Indians in the governance of the country, reduce taxes and put an end to the policy of discrimination against Indians. Though they functioned mainly within their respective Presidencies, their objectives were stated as the objectives of the people of India and not of any region or community of the country. Later, a number of other organizations were formed which were more representative of the people than the ones mentioned above. These included the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, which was formed in 1870, the Indian Association, formed in 1876, the Madras Mahajana Sabha, formed in 1884 and the Bombay Presidency Association, formed in 1885. In their criticism of the government, these organizations were much more forthright than the earlier organizations and did not hesitate to hold protest meetings against the policy of repression and discrimination against Indians followed by the government. The activities of these organizations too, however, were confined to their respective regions although their demands were of an all-India nature.

The discontent against the British rule was intensified in the 1870's and the 1880's as a result of certain developments. The government, instead of taking steps to meet Indian demands, introduced new repressive measures. In 1878, the Arms Act was passed which forbade Indians from possessing arms. In the same year, severe restrictions were imposed on the newspapers in Indian languages. In 1883, the government surrendered to the racial arrogance of the British and other Europeans living in India over a bill that it had itself proposed. The bill, known as the Ilbert Bill, provided that a British or a European in India could be tried by an Indian judge. Thus it only aimed at establishing equality of Indian judges with the British



Surendranath Banerjea

judges in India. Because of the opposition by the British and other Europeans in India, the bill was withdrawn.

The need for an all-India organization representing Indian opinion had been felt for a long time. The events mentioned above made it an urgent necessity. Some steps had already been taken in this regard by Surendranath Banerjea who had founded the Indian Association at Calcutta. Surendranath Banerjea had been selected into the Indian Civil Service but had been dismissed on flimsy grounds. He was the first Indian leader to bring together people from all parts of the country for the first all-India National Conference held at Calcutta in December 1883. The need for united action by Indians was expressed by many other leaders and by the nationalist newspapers. Surendranath Banerjea convened another National Conference to be held at Calcutta in December 1885. In the meantime, some other leaders had taken the initiative of convening another all-India conference—which was held in Bombay in December 1885. This was the Indian National Congress which became the principal organization representing the will of the Indian people and led the Indian people in their struggle for freedom.

Formation of the Indian National Congress

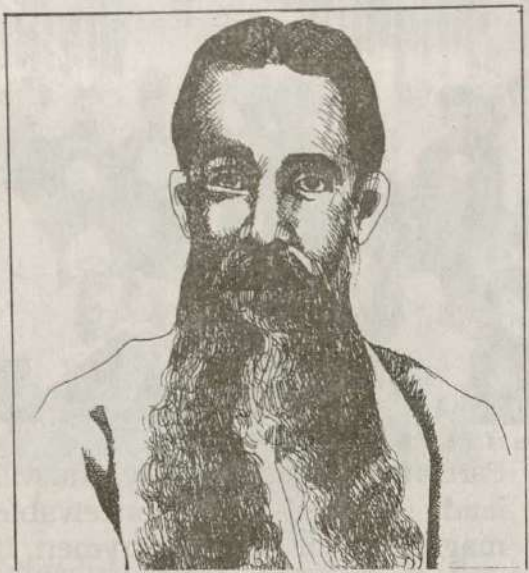
The Indian National Congress was formed when 72 delegates from all the presidencies and provinces of India met at Bombay from 28 to 30 December 1885. Allan Octavian Hume, a retired British official in India, played a leading role in the formation of the Congress. He established contact with some of the most important Indian leaders all over the country and received their cooperation in forming the Congress. Some of the important leaders who attended this first session of the Congress which was held at the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College, were Dadabhai Naoroji, Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Pherozeshah Mehta, S. Subramania Iyer, P. Ananda

Delegates to the first session of the Indian National Congress

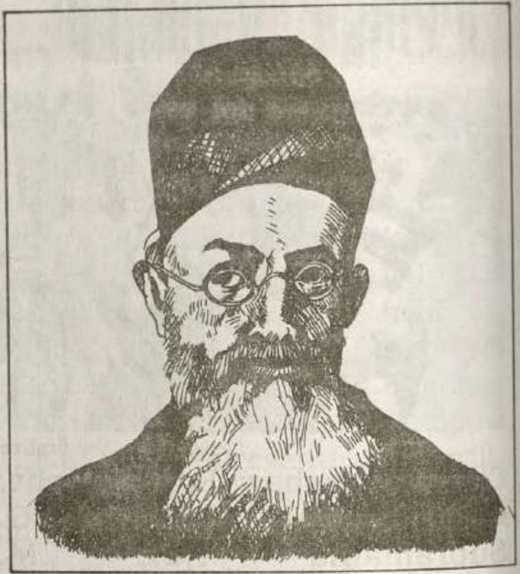
Charlu, Dinshaw Edalji Wacha, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, G. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, N.G. Chandavarkar, Rahmatullah M. Sayani and Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee. An important leader who was absent was Surendranath Banerjea. He had convened a National Conference around the same time at Calcutta.

The significance of the formation of the first national political organization in India was immediately realized. Barely a week after the session ended, a Calcutta newspaper, *The Indian Mirror*, wrote, "The First National Congress at Bombay forms an important chapter in the history of British rule in India. The day on which it opened, namely, the 28th December 1885, will form a red-letter day in the annals of the national progress of the Native races. It is the nucleus of a future Parliament for our country, and will lead to good of inconceivable magnitude for our countrymen. If we were asked what was the proudest day in our life, we should unhesitatingly say it was the day in which we, for the first time, met all our brothers of Madras, Bombay, the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, under the roof of the Gokul Das Tejpal Sanskrit College for the purpose of this National Congress. From the date of this Congress we may well count the more rapid development of national progress in India in future".

The first President of the Congress was Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee. The objectives of the Congress, as stated by him, were to bring together leaders from different parts of the country, to remove all possible prejudices of race, religion and region, to discuss important problems facing the



Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee



Dadabhai Naoroji

country, and to decide on the activities that the Indian leaders should take up. The Congress passed nine resolutions which demanded changes in British policy and reforms in administration.

Indian National Congress—The Early Phase

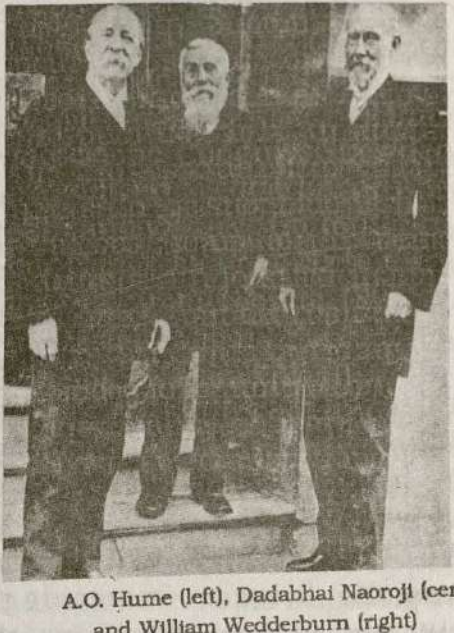
After the first session in Bombay, the Indian National Congress met every year in the month of December, usually at a diferent place each time. The second session, attended by about 450 delegates, was held at Calcutta in 1886. Surendranath Banerjea and other leaders of the Indian Association joined the Congress now. The delegates attending this and the later sessions were now elected by various conferences which were held at local levels. The first session of the Congress had been described as India's first National Assembly and 'the nucleus of a future Parliament for our country'. In course of time, it did become the representative organization of the people of the country.

The second session of the Congress was presided over by Dadabhai Naoroji. His name has been mentioned before in connection with the reform movements. He was one of the foremost leaders of the Congress for over 20 years. During his stay in Britain, he had formed an association to win over British leaders and the public in support of the demands of the Indian people. He became President of the

Congress thrice. He was also elected to British Parliament and promoted the cause of India in that body. He was one of the earliest Indian leaders to hold the view that the poverty of the Indian people was the result of exploitation of India by the British and the drain of India's wealth to Britain. He was known as the Grand Old Man of India.

From its inception, the Congress stood for the unity of the people, irrespective of religious and other differences. The decision to hold its sessions at a different place every year also had the same objective. Stressing this, Badruddin Tyabji, who was the President of the Madras session in 1887, said in his address that "this Congress is composed of the representatives, not of any one class or community of India, or of one part of India, but of all the different communities of India". During its early years, the Congress had among its leaders some Englishmen. The 1888 session held at Allahabad was attended by about 1300 delegates. It was presided over by George Yule, an Englishman. Other Englishmen who became Congress Presidents were William Wedderburn, Alfred Webb and Henry Cotton. Some other Congress Presidents during the period from 1885 to 1905 were Pherozeshah Mehta, Surendranath Banerjea, Rahmatullah Sayani, Ananda Charlu, Sankaran Nair,

Badruddin Tyabji



A.O. Hume (left), Dadabhai Naoroji (centre) and William Wedderburn (right)

P. Ananda Charlu, President of the Congress session in 1891

G. Subramania Iyer, leader of the Indian National Congress and founder of *The Hindu*

R.C. Dutt and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. This period also saw the beginning of the participation of women in the sessions of the Congress. The Congress sessions became increasingly important in the political life of the country.

Dinshaw Wacha (left), Dadabhai Naoroji (sitting) and Gopal Krishna Gokhale (right)

The first 20 years of the Congress (1885-1905) are generally described as being its 'Moderate' phase. During this period the Congress asked for gradual introduction of reforms and for increased say of the Indians in the government and administration of the country. It demanded more powers for the Legislative Councils and to make these Councils representative bodies by having elections for the membership of the Councils. It also demanded the creation of the Legislative Councils in provinces where they did not exist. It demanded that Indians should be recruited to higher posts in the government and that the

Civil Service examinations should be held in India also so that capable Indians were able to compete for these services. It also demanded reduction in land revenue and changes in government's economic policies to facilitate the growth of Indian industries. It opposed the heavy expenditure of the government on administration and the army and the drain of India's wealth. Other major demands were freedom of speech and expression, expansion of welfare programmes and promotion of education. The Congress demanded that the government should be run to promote the welfare of Indians, and that the exploitation of India to promote Britain's interests should be ended.

All these demands were moderate.The leaders of the Congress in this period came from upper sections of Indian society. They were English-educated and they believed that their demands were so reasonable that they would be accepted by the government. Their attitude was not anti-British. They believed that the British government could be persuaded to see the justness of the demands and concede them. To do this, they passed resolutions and prepared petitions which they sent to the government for consideration. These demands were popularized in Britain also. The Indian leaders tried to get the support of British public men friendly to India. By these methods of persuasion, they hoped that the Indian people would gradually win the rights that the British people enjoyed and that gradually India would become free.

British Attitude towards the Congress

The British government paid little heed to the demands of the Congress. Initially, the British rulers were somewhat sympathetic to the Congress, and some British officials even used to attend Congress sessions. However soon their attitude became one of open hostility. Officials were debarred from attending the Congress sessions and the Congress began to be considered a seditious organization. As the influence of the Congress grew, the British administration, including the Viceroys, began to refer to it as an organization representing a microscopic minority. They began to say that India was not one nation but many nations with no common interests. They tried to divide the Indian people on the basis of religion. For example, they began to say that the Hindus and Muslims had no common interests. They also tried to dissuade some upper class Muslims from participating in the activities of the Congress by telling them that their interests would suffer if the Congress demands were conceded. In Britain, where the Congress was able to win many supporters, the attitude of the government remained hostile. While some members of British Parliament spoke in favour of introducing reforms in India, the Parliament as a whole showed no interest in India.

Emergence of New Trends in the Congress

You have read of the Councils Act of 1892. It had fallen far short of the expectations of the Indian leaders. They gradually became disillusioned with the British government. With this grew the conviction that it was useless to expect any justice from the government. If the Indian people were to win rights, they would have to struggle for them. Mere appeals would not do. In its early years, the movement led by the Congress was confined to industrialists, lawyers, traders, and other educated sections of the middle and upper sections of society. However, gradually other sections, first the lower middle class and later the common people, were drawn to it. This changed its character and it became increasingly a mass movement.

The last years of the 19th century were full of misery for the Indian people. There was famine in large parts of India and millions of people starved to death. The question of poverty became the major question. The Indian leaders blamed the policies of the government for the poverty of the Indian people. They became much more forthright in their condemnation of the British rule than before.

From the end of the 19th century, the repressive measures of the government were intensified. Curzon, who became the Governor-General in 1898, openly declared that Indians were not fit to hold important offices. He declared the destruction of the Congress as his aim. To do this, he adopted the old policy of 'divide and rule'. The most important measure in this direction was the partition of Bengal. Its effect, however, was contrary to what he had expected. When he left India, the movement had become stronger than ever before.

During the last decade of the 19th century, new trends began to appear in the nationalist movement. The leaders responsible for bringing about these trends were Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal. The new leaders, criticized the policies of the Congress as one of 'mendicancy'. They said that the people would have to rely on their

A photograph of some national leaders in 1904. Left to right, sitting : Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and N.C. Kelkar. Standing behind Tilak is C.R. Das.

own strength rather than on the good intentions of the government. They said that it was not enough to demand reforms in administration. The aim of the Indian people should be the attainment of *Swaraj*. Tilak raised the famous slogan: "Swaraj is my birthright and I must have it". This could be achieved only by working among the masses and by the participation of the masses in political affairs. They aroused the patriotism of the people and prepared them for sacrifices in the interests of the nation. Tilak's paper *Kesari* became the mouthpiece of the new group of nationalists. These nationalists utilized the popular festivals to spread political awakening among the people. They also developed new methods of political agitation like *hartals* and boycott of foreign goods.

These trends became increasingly popular and were soon to dominate the nationalist movement. The Congress which started as a moderate organization to work for gradual reforms in the government through petitions and appeals, also came to be dominated by the new leaders. In 1905 a new phase began in the history of the nationalist movement.

The Congress during the first 20 years of its existence had helped to unite the people for common national aims. In the following years, this unity was further strengthened and the aims became clearer. From a movement in which only small sections of the society were active, it became a movement in which millions participated with the aim of attaining freedom.

EXERCISES

I. Answer the following questions.

1. What were the Wahabi and Kuka movements ? What were their aims ?
2. What were the changes in economic life that helped to bring the people of India together and how ?
3. Describe the influence of education and of the social and religious reform movements on the rise of nationalism in India.
4. In what way did the administrative system established by the British in India contribute to the rise of nationalism in India ?
5. How did the Indian national movement differ from the earlier revolts against the British rule ?
6. What was the attitude of the British rulers towards the Indian people ? Mention if there were any differences in the attitude towards different sections of society.
7. When was the Indian National Congress formed ? What were its main demands in the first 20 years of its existence ?
8. Describe the attitude of the British government to the demands of the Indian National Congress from 1885 to 1905.
9. What is meant by the policy of 'divide and rule' ? Describe the major features of the British policy of 'divide and rule'.
10. What were the new trends that began to appear in the nationalist movement towards the end of the 19th century ? What were the reasons for the growth of their popularity ?

II. In column'A' are given some statements and in column 'B' names of some persons. Match the two columns.

A	B
1. He was the founder of the Indian Association.	A.O. Hume
2. He was the first President of the Indian National Congress.	Dadabhai Naoroji
3. He was the President of the Congress at its second session.	Bal Gangadhar Tilak
4. He was a retired British official and played a leading role in the formation of the Congress.	W.C. Bonnerjee
5. He raised the slogan 'Swaraj is my birthright and I must have it'.	Surendranath Banerjea

III. Things to Do

1. Prepare a list of the important leaders of the Indian National Congress from 1885 to 1905. Also try to collect their pictures.
2. **Prepare a chart showing the year, the venue and the name of the President of sessions of the Indian National Congress from 1885 to 1905.**
3. Prepare a list of the main demands of the Congress during its first 20 years. Display them in the form of a chart in the classroom.

CHAPTER TEN

Struggle for Swaraj

Extremists and Moderates

YOU HAVE read that during the first 20 years of the existence of the Congress, the hopes of its leaders in the British Government had been belied. The British government became more and more hostile to the Congress. Towards the end of the 19th century, new trends began to emerge in the nationalist movement. New leaders who represented these trends came to the fore. They began to assert that the Indian people could not win their rights by merely appealing to the government. They had no faith in the good intentions of the British government. They taught people to rely on their own strength. They instilled among the people love for and pride in their country. They prepared them for any sacrifice that may be necessary for the service of the country. *Bande Mataram*, became the most popular national song throughout the country. You have already read that this song had been composed by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya. It expressed the People's devotion to the motherland.

The most prominent among these new leaders were Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai and Aurobindo Ghosh. They came to be known as 'extremists'. The older leaders of the Congress like Surendranath Banerjea, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Pherozeshah Mehta and others were known as 'moderates'. They still believed that the British rulers could be persuaded to see the justness of the Indian demands. Through resolutions, petitions and meetings, the British government,

Aurobindo Ghosh

they thought, could be persuaded to introduce reforms in the interests of the Indian people.

Influence of World Events

As the disillusionment with the British government grew, the influence of the 'extremist' leaders began to increase. Events outside India also helped to strengthen the anti-British and patriotic thinking of the people. In 1896, Italian soldiers were defeated by the Ethiopians when Italy waged a war to conquer Ethiopia. The defeat of a European country at the hands of the Ethiopian people was heartening to the Indian people.

About 10 years after the defeat of Italians, Japan defeated Russia in a war in 1905. Since the time the imperialist conquest of Asia began, this was the first time that an Asian country had defeated a European country in war. The victory of Japan, therefore, had great impact on the Indian people whose hatred for the British rule had been rising. Japan, as you will see later, herself became an imperialist country and tried to conquer many parts of Asia. However, the Japanese victory in 1905 was important insofar as it showed to the people that a European power could be defeated. It gave the Indian people confidence in their own strength and in their struggle against the British rule.

In 1905, there was a revolution in Russia. Russia in those days was ruled by an autocratic emperor and the people had no rights. The people rose up in rebellion against the Czar, as the Russian emperor was called. Though the revolution was suppressed, it inspired people suffering under the foreign oppressive rule in India. The struggle of many other peoples against oppression also inspired the people of India. In Ireland, for example, people were trying to free themselves from British domination. All these developments influenced the thinking of Indian people and their leaders. These events also strengthened the position of the new leaders.

Partition of Bengal

However, the event that had the greatest effect in changing the aims and methods of the nationalist movement was the partition of Bengal. Bengal was then the largest province of British India. It included Bihar and parts of Orissa and had a population of over 78 million people. There had been schemes for reorganizing the province for many years. It was said that it was difficult to administer such a big province and that it was necessary to break it up. However, instead of separating the non-Bengali areas from the province, that is Bihar and parts of Orissa, the proposal of partition suggested the separation of east Bengal from the province. An important reason behind these proposals was to weaken the nationalist movement. The nationalist movement in Bengal was very strong. The British rulers thought that by partitioning the province they would succeed in weakening it. Another aim was to sow seeds of disunity between Hindus and Muslims. It was said that the new province, in which Muslims would be in a majority, would be in the interest of the Muslims. By this, the British thought, they would be able to wean away the Muslims from the nationalist movement. The people and the national leaders realized what the real intentions of the government were. Hundreds of meetings were held all over Bengal to protest against the scheme of partition.

However, the government showed no regard to the wishes of the people. In July 1905, the final scheme of the partition was announced. The eastern parts of Bengal were separated from the rest of Bengal and added to Assam. Thus a new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was created. The partition came into effect on 16 October 1905.

The partition of Bengal led to a wave of indignation throughout Bengal. Huge public meetings and massive demonstrations were held in different towns. A movement was launched to end the partition. It was led by both 'extremist' and 'moderate' leaders. Some of the prominent leaders of the movement were Surendranath Banerjea, Bipin Chandra Pal and Abdul Rasul. The day of partition was observed as a day of mourning all over Bengal. All business came to a standstill. On the suggestion of the great poet Rabindranath Tagore the day was also observed as a day of unity and solidarity of the people. People all over Bengal, whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian, tied *Rakhi* around one another's wrist. Through this ceremony, they expressed their unity and brotherhood.

During the movement to end the partition of Bengal, new methods of struggle were adopted. These methods, which included Swadeshi and Boycott brought in participation by the common people in the anti-British political activities. The aims of the nationalist movement also became more radical than before. Thus the partition of Bengal had consequences quite contrary to the ones that the government had expected.

Swadeshi and Boycott Movements

The Swadeshi and Boycott movements which started with a view to ending the partition of Bengal soon became powerful weapons of the struggle for freedom. *Swadeshi* means 'of one's own country'. During the struggle for freedom, it meant that people should use goods produced within the country. This would help promote Indian industries and strengthen the nation. It was also an effective method of developing patriotism.

The promotion of *Swadeshi* was accompanied by the advocacy of Boycott. People were asked to boycott foreign goods. This helped arouse the nationalistic sentiments of the people. It was stressed that the boycott of foreign goods, which were mostly British, would hurt Britain's economic interests and the British government would be forced to accept Indian demands.

The Swadeshi and Boycott movements were supported by the Congress at its session held at Benaras in 1905 and at the Calcutta session held in 1906. This marked a very big change in the methods adopted by the Congress. These methods were no longer confined to persuading the rulers by petitions and appeals to their sense of justice.

The Swadeshi and Boycott movements were not confined to Bengal but had spread to many parts of the country. It led to the heightening of political activity all over India. British cloth, sugar and other goods were boycotted. People went in groups to shopkeepers to persuade them to stop selling British goods. They stood outside the shops to dissuade people from buying British cloth. People stopped talking to those who sold or used British goods. At places, barbers and washermen refused to serve such persons.

A very important role was played in this movement by school and college students. They started using only Indian goods and took a leading part in dissuading people from buying British goods. The government resorted to all kinds of repressive measures. Many students were expelled from schools and colleges. Many were beaten up and sent to jail.

Swadeshi and Boycott were not confined to goods only. Swadeshi gradually came to include everything Indian. Similarly, Boycott, in course of time, came to include everything connected with the British rule. Initially aimed at forcing the government to end the partition of Bengal, they ultimately became the means to attain freedom from foreign rule.

Congress and the Goal of Swaraj

The agitation against the partition, and the spread of Swadeshi and Boycott movements influenced the policies of the Congress. All the sections within the Congress, 'moderates' and 'extremists', were united against the partition of Bengal. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was the President of the Congress session held at Benaras in 1905, which gave its support to Swadeshi and Boycott.

However, the differences between, the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' persisted. The 'moderates' believed that methods like boycott should be used only in special circumstances for specific purposes. In their view, it was justifiable to use these methods to protest against the partition of Bengal. They, however, did not like these to become normal methods of agitation against the British rule. They were opposed to an all-out struggle against the British. In Britain, the Liberal Party had come to power and Morley had become the Secretary of State. The 'moderate' leaders believed that through petitions and appeals the Liberal government could be persuaded to bring about improvements in administration.

The 'extremists', however, believed that it was necessary to extend the scope of boycott. They advocated boycott of schools, colleges and universities supported by the government, and starting of educational institutions to inculcate patriotism. In short, they advocated a widespread movement against the British rule. The Swadeshi and Boycott movements developed self-reliance among people. It helped in promoting Indian industry and setting up of Swadeshi industries and shops selling Swadeshi goods became a patriotic duty of the Indians and a part of the struggle against Britain. V.O.C. Pillai, a nationalist leader of Tamil Nadu, founded at this time

V.O.C. Pillai

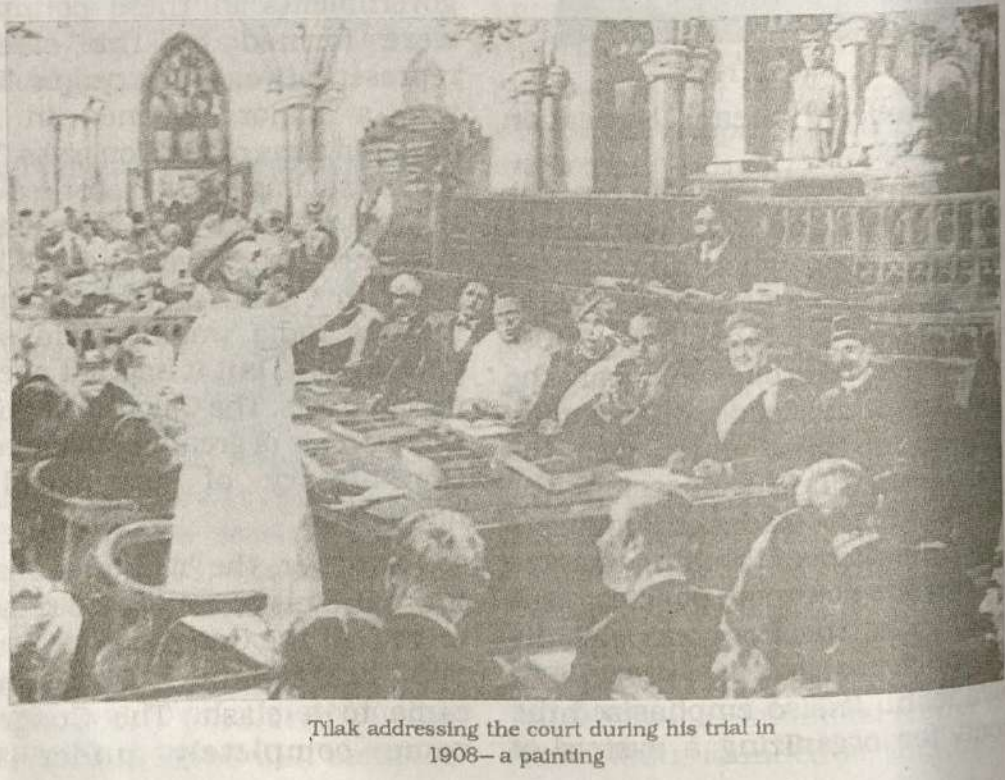
the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company.

The differences between the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' were growing when the annual session of the Congress was held at Calcutta in December 1906. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was the most respected leader of the Indian people in those days, was the President of this session. He persuaded the leaders belonging to different ways of thinking to agree to certain common policies. In a resolution, the Congress gave its support to the Boycott and Swadeshi. It also emphasized the need for organizing a system of education suitable to the needs of the country. This system, it was said, should be organized by Indians themselves. However, the most important development at this session was the declaration of the attainment of 'Self-Government' or Swaraj as the objective of the Congress. This was included in the Presidential address of Dadabhai Naoroji. Swaraj meant the form of government which existed in the self-governing colonies of Britain such as Canada and Australia. These two countries were parts of the British empire but the governments in these countries were formed by the elected representatives of the people. This was a major advance in the declared aims of the Congress. The Congress had so far worked for reforms mainly within the existing structure of the government. It had hoped that gradually through these reforms India would attain self-government, but it had not openly declared this. The Calcutta session, therefore, is of great importance in the history of our freedom movement.

However, the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' could not remain united. At the Congress session of 1907, held at Surat, the two groups came to a clash. The Congress came completely under the domination of 'moderate' leaders and the 'extremists' started functioning separately outside the Congress. It was nine years later, in 1916, that the two groups were re united.

In spite of the moderates' hold on the Congress, the influence of the 'extremists' and their ideas and methods had grown throughout the country. This alarmed the British. The British authorities were also panicky because the year 1907 was the fiftieth anniversary of the great rebellion of 1857 and they feared the outbreak of another revolt. The repression against the 'extremists' was intensified. Lajpat Rai had been arrested and deported to Burma in early 1907 though he was released later in the year

Bipin Chandra Pal had also been imprisoned for six months. In 1908, Tilak was arrested and deported to Burma for six years. Many newspapers were banned and their editors jailed. V.O. Chidambaram Pillai was



Tilak addressing the court during his trial in 1908– a painting persecuted and jailed. However, in spite of these repressive measures, the policies and methods advocated by the 'extremist' leaders to oppose the British gained in popularity. The repression by the government met with resistance from the people. On Tilak's conviction, the workers of Bombay went on a strike. In Tinnevelly, in Tamil Nadu, people defied a ban on meetings and four demonstrators were shot dead. There were also acts of violence against the British in some parts of the country.

Morley-Minto Reforms

While the policy of repression intensified, the government tried to placate the 'moderates'. In 1909, the Indian Councils Act was announced. This is popularly known as the Morley-Minto Reforms, named after the then Secretary of State and the Viceroy. According to this Act, the membership of the central and provincial legislative councils was enlarged. However, the number of elected members in these councils was less than half of their total membership. It may also be remembered that the elected members were not elected by the people but by landlords, organizations of traders and industrialists, universities and local bodies. The British also introduced Communal Electorates as a part of these reforms. This was meant to create disunity between Hindus and Muslims. Some seats in the councils were reserved for Muslims to be elected by Muslim voters. By this, the British hoped to cut off Muslims from the nationalist movement by treating them as apart from the rest of the nation. They told the Muslims that their interests were separate from those of other Indians. To weaken the nationalist movement, the British began to consistently follow a policy of promoting communalism in India. The growth of communalism had serious consequences for the unity of the Indian people and the struggle for freedom. The Congress at its 1909 session welcomed the reforms but strongly opposed the creation of separate electorates on the basis of religion.

The Morley-Minto reforms did not introduce any significant change in the powers of the councils. They did not mark an advance towards the establishment of a representative government, much less *Swaraj*. In fact, the Secretary of State frankly declared that he had absolutely no intention of introducing a parliamentary form of government in India. A parliamentary form of government is a government in which

Parliament is the supreme organ of the government and all laws and policies are made by it. The members of Parliament are elected by the people for a fixed number of years after which elections are held again. In India, today, we have a parliamentary form of government. The autocratic form of government that had been introduced after the revolt of 1857 remained unchanged even after the Morley-Minto Reforms. The only change was that the government started appointing some Indians of its choice to certain high positions. Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, who later became Lord Sinha, was the first Indian to be made a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council. Later he was made the governor of a province, the only Indian to occupy such a high office during the entire period of British rule.

In 1911, an Imperial Darbar was held at Delhi at which the British King, George V, and his Queen were also present. The Darbar was also attended by Indian Princes who displayed their loyalty to the British Crown. Two important announcements were made on the occasion. One was the annulment of the partition of Bengal which had been effected in 1905. The other was the shifting of the capital of British India from Calcutta to Delhi.

The Revolutionaries

Besides the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' who worked for reforms and for Swaraj through appeals or mass agitations, there were small groups of revolutionaries in some parts of the country who believed in the overthrow of the British rule by force. They were organized into secret societies and gave training to their members in making explosives and using firearms. Most of their members were young people whose bitterness against the British rule had been further intensified by the repressive measures adopted by the British. These societies were particularly active in Maharashtra and Bengal. Two important societies of revolutionaries were the Abhinava Bharat Society in Maharashtra and the Anushilan Samiti in Bengal Their members resorted to the use of violence against unpopular British officials, magistrates, police

V.D. Savarkar

officers and informers, governors and viceroys.

In 1908, in Muzaffarpur, Khudiram Bose and Profulla Chaki threw a bomb into a carriage in which, they thought, a British judge, who had imposed severe punishments on Swadeshi workers, was travelling. Actually, two British women were travelling in the carriage and they were killed. Chaki killed himself and Khudiram Bose was tried and hanged. After this incident, a house in Calcutta, the Manicktola Garden House, which was used by revolutionaries to make bombs and to get training in shooting, was raided by the police. Many revolutonaries, including Aurobindo Ghosh and his brother Barindra Kumar Ghosh, were arrested and some of them were sentenced to life imprisonment. Aurobindo Ghosh was released and, soon after, he gave up all political activities. He moved to Pondicherry, which was then a French Colony, and set up an Ashram there.

Shyamaji Krishnavarma

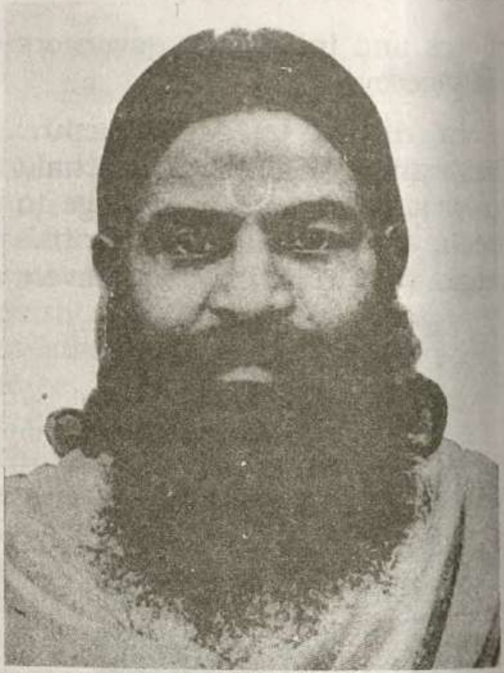
Madam Cama

M. Barkatulla

There were some other anti-British acts of violence. The Magistrate of Dhaka, and the Collectors of Nasik and Tinnevelly were shot dead. In 1912. an attempt was made on the life of the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge. A bomb was thrown at him when he was going through Chandni Chowk in a procession to mark his arrival in Delhi, the new capital of British India.

Indian revolutionaries were active in other parts of the world also. They established their centres in London, Paris and Berlin and in North America and Asia. They published journals and spread revolutionary ideas. Some of them had contacts with European revolutionary organizations. Some of the most prominent Indian revolutionaries outside India were Shyamaji Krishnavarma, Madam Bhikaiji Cama, M. Barkatulla, V.V.S. Iyer, Lala Hardyal, Rashbehari Bose, Sohan Singh Bhakna, V.D. Savarkar, Obeidulla Sindhi and M.N. Roy. Indian revolutionaries in North America brought out a journal *Ghadar* in various Indian languages and formed a party with the same name.

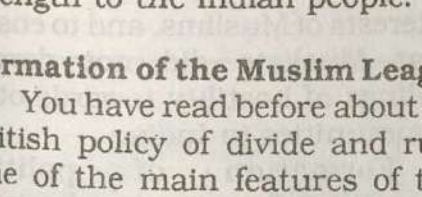
During the First World War (1914-1918), these groups tried to smuggle arms into India in order to organise armed rebellions to overthrow the British rule. Bagha Jatin (Jatin Mukherjee) who was trying to organise a revolt with the help of arms from Germany was killed in an encounter. The Ghadar Party also sent people to organize uprisings in India. Most of them were; however, arrested and some executed. Among those executed was the 19-year old Kartar Singh Sarabha. A group of revolutionaries in Kabul proclaimed a Provisional Government of Free India with Raja Mahendra Pratap as President and Barkatulla as Prime Minister.


V.V.S. Iyer

Although the revolutionaries did not succeed in their aims, their patriotism, determination and self-sacrifice were a source of inspiration to the Indian people. Their activities, however, had certain weaknesses. They, for example, believed that by killing certain individuals they would be able to free the country. They were organized into small groups and did not try to unite masses of people behind them. They failed to see that a powerful empire could not be defeated by individual acts of violence. During the First World War, they tried to extend their activities and to organize uprisings with the help of Indian soldiers and common people in some parts of the country. However, all these attempts failed. Many revolutionaries were arrested. Many of them were hanged while the others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. However, their fearlessness was a source of strength to the Indian people.

Formation of the Muslim League

You have read before about the British policy of divide and rule. One of the main features of this policy was to create disunity between Hindus and Muslims by telling them that their interests were separate. First they discriminated against Muslims by treating them as their main enemies. Later, when the nationalist movement started gaining strength, they began favouring upper class Muslims to wean them away from the nationalist movement. However, in spite of these efforts, a large number of Muslims joined the Congress. The British, however, succeeded in weaning away a section of upper class Muslims to their side and encouraged them to start separate organisations. They tried to win over the Muslims by telling them that they could make progress only if they became loyal to the government. They also said that a representative government in India would be dominated by the Hindus as they were in a majority. Some 'extremist' leaders who were Hindus used religious beliefs and festivals to propagate nationalism. This gave an opportunity to those Muslims who were pro-British, to say that the nationalist movement



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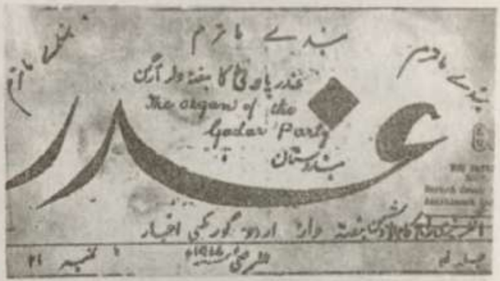
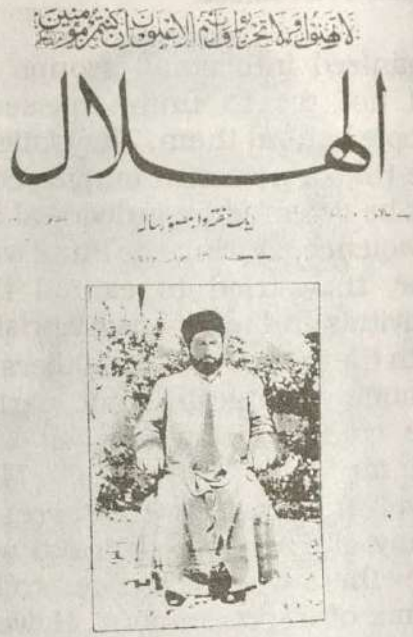

The organ of the Gadar Party

Cover page of the journal *Ghadar* in Urdu

Kartar Singh Sarabha

was a movement of Hindus only and, therefore, they should have nothing to do with it.

One of the aims of the partition of Bengal, as you have already seen, was to divide Hindus and Muslims. In 1906, the All-India Muslim League was formed. The lead in its formation was taken by the Agha Khan, the religious head of a sect among Muslims, and Nawab Salimulla of Dhaka. They were encouraged by Viceroy Minto whom the Agha Khan had met earlier. The proposal to intorudce Communal Electorates about which you have read before was made by this deputation to the viceroy. The Muslim League declared that its aims were to promote loyalty to the government, to protect and advance the interests of Muslims, and to ensure that Muslims did not develop feelings of hostility towards other communities in India.



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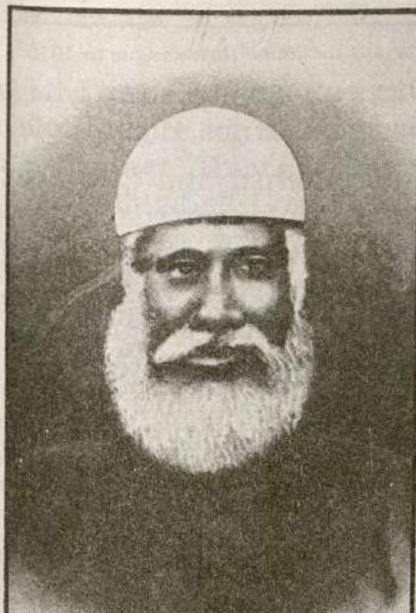
Cover page of the weekly journal *Al-hilal* brought out by Abul Kalam Azad

Formation of political organisations on the basis of religion is an unhealthy thing in the political life of a people. Such organisations are harmful because they create the belief that the interests of one or the other community are distinct and separate from those of the rest. This belief prevents people from realising that the interests of one community cannot be promoted unless the interests of the entire nation are promoted. The organisations promoting these beliefs are called communal organisations. They, directly or indirectly, create and promote hatred against other communities and thus stand in the way of national unity. People belonging to a nation may profess different faiths but they enjoy equal rights. One's religion is a matter of each citizen's personal belief and this belief should not be mixed up with political activities, because political activities of the citizens of a nation relate to common problems of all the people constituting a nation.

However, in spite of the efforts of the British government, the Muslim masses were drawn into the nationalist movement. A number of leaders, including Abul Kalam Azad, Mohamed Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Mazharul Haque, emerged into prominence during this period. Besides them, there were also the Ulema or theologians connected with the Deoband School, who from the beginning had been opposed to the British rule. All these leaders carried on nationalist propaganda among the people and brought them into the struggle for freedom. The Muslim League itself was influenced by the spread of anti-imperialist ideas. At the time of its formation, its declared aim was promotion of loyalty to the British government among Muslims. In 1913, however, it adopted the attainment of self-government as its aim, as the Congress had done seven years before.



Mazharul Haque

Nationalist Movement during the First World War

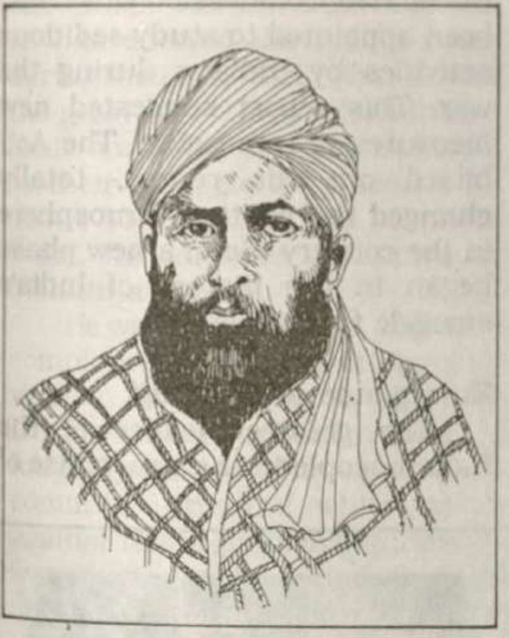
The rivalries between the two opposing groups of imperialist countries of Europe led to a war in 1914, which lasted up to 1918. This was the most destructive war that the world had so far seen. Therefore, it is known as the First World War. As it was in the earlier wars in which Britain was involved, Indian resources and soldiers were used by Britain in the First World War, which had nothing to do with

Mrs. Annte Besant (sitting, centre) at a meeting of the Home Rule League in 1916

the interests of the Indian people.

You have already read about the activities of the revolutionaries during the war. Other Indian leaders also intensified nationalist propaganda. There was a demand for the introduction of self-government in India. This is known as the agitation for Home Rule. Home Rule Leagues were formed under the leadership of Tilak, who had returned from his exile in Burma in 1914, and had joined the Congress, and Mrs. Annie Besant, who had come to India in 1893 and had become the leader of the Theosophical Society. The other prominent leaders who joined the agitation for Home Rule were Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das. The government resorted to repression. Mrs. Annie Besant, along with tw of her colleagues, was interned and Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal were prohibited from entering Punjab. Mohamed Ali and his brothe Shaukat Ali, Abul Kalam Azad and Hasrat Mohani had already bee interned. They were released onl after the war had ended. The repression was particularly sever in Punjab and Bengal.

An important event during thi period was the Lucknow Pact o



Hasrat Mohani

1916. The Congress and the Muslim League signed this pact to work together. They joined hands in demanding Self-Government or Swaraj at an early date. The Congress, according to this pact, accepted separate representation of Muslims in the councils. This removed the Muslim League's fear that the councils formed through elections would be dominated by the Hindus and the Muslims interests would suffer. The coming together of the Congress and the Muslim League to jointly fight for a common cause was an important political event. In that year the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' were also reunited, nine years after they had separated at the Surat session of the Congress.

Edwin Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, announced in British Parliament in August 1917 that the policy of the British government was to gradually develop 'self-governing institutions' with the aim of giving India 'responsible government'. The announcement raised the hopes of many Indian leaders. Indian leaders also helped Britain in the War. In December 1917, the Congress session was held at Calcutta. Annie Besant was elected its President. She was the first woman to be elected President of the Congress. The session was attended by 4000 delegates, and the number of women who attended it was about 400. The Congress welcomed Montagu's announcement and urged the government to pass immediately a law for the establishment of a responsible government in India.

The hopes aroused by Montagu's announcement were soon belied. In July 1918, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was published, which was named after the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy, regarding the reforms which the British government proposed to introduce in India. A special session of the Congress, presided over Syed Hasan Imam, was held at Bombay. It described the proposed reforms as disappointing and unsatisfactory, and asserted that the people of India were fit for responsible government. It also demanded that the Act by which reforms would be introduced should include the Declaration of the Rights of the People of India as British citizens.

A few days after the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, another report was published. This was the report of the Rowlatt Commission which had been appointed to study seditious activities by Indians during the war. This report suggested new measures of repression. The Act, based on this report, totally changed the political atmosphere in the country. Soon a new phase began in the history of India's struggle for freedom.

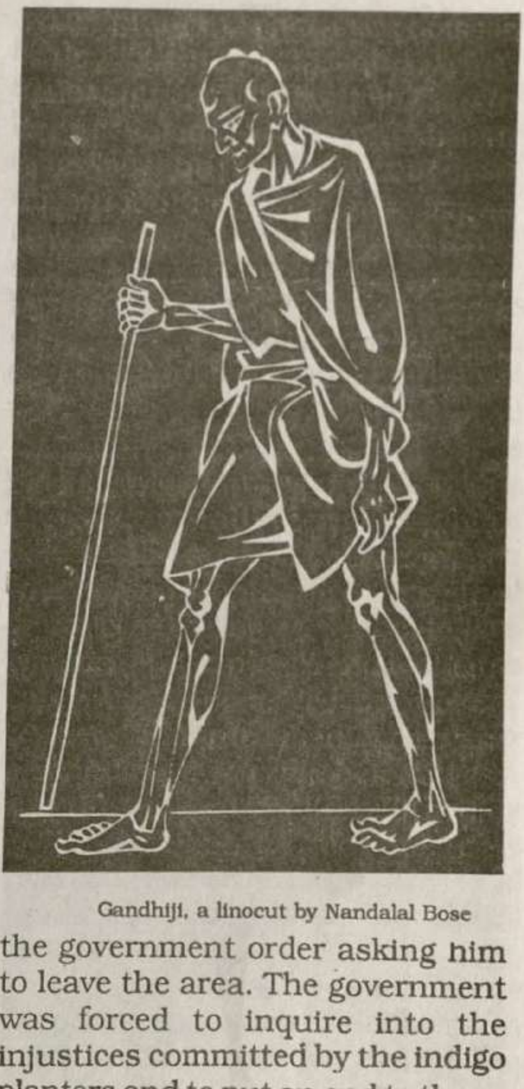
Emergence of Gandhiji

The greatest leader of the Indian people in the new phase of

Gandhiji being taken in a procession on his arrival in India in 1915 their struggle for freedom was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. He had entered the Indian scene during the First World War. He was the greatest of the modern Indian leaders who led the people of India in their struggle for freedom for about 30 years. To the people of India, he came to be known as Mahatma Gandhi.

He was born in 1869, and after completing his studies in England, went to South Africa as a lawyer. During his stay in South Africa, he fought against the oppression committed by the white rulers against the Indians living there. It was during this period that he developed his method of fighting oppression. This method was later taken up by the people of India in their struggle for independence. It is called 'Satyagraha'. The person offering satyagraha prepares himself to undergo any hardship and suffering including imprisonment. It was basically a non-violent method of fighting against oppression.

Gandhiji returned to India in 1915 and plunged himself in the struggle against oppression. One of his first struggles was launched in Champaran in Bihar. He took up the cause of the poor peasants against the excesses of the indigo planters in Champaran. In 1917, he went to Champaran and defied the government order asking him to leave the area. The government was forced to inquire into the injustices committed by the indigo planters and to put an end to them. Later, in 1918, he led the textile workers of Ahmedabad, who were demanding a rise in their wages, and the peasants of Kaira (Kheda) in Gujarat, who, due to crop failure, wanted the collection of revenue to be suspended.



Gandhiji, a linocut by Nandalal Bose

After the War was over, Gandhiji became the undisputed leader of the Indian people. The period after the War, as you will read later, saw a political mass movement of a new kind. Millions of people were roused to action against the foreign rule in India. He infused in them a spirit of fearlessness and the will to brave any repression, whether it was imprsonment, lathi-charge or firing.

Some of the ways of fighting oppression practised by people under his leadership were open defiance of laws, boycott of law courts, boycott of offices, non-payment of taxes, peaceful demonstrations, stoppage of business, and picketing of shops selling foreign goods. Some of these methods, you already know, were followed during the agitation against the partition of Bengal. However, under Gandhiji, these were launched on a massive scale with millions of people from different sections of society participating in the struggle. The nationalist movement became truly mass-based with the participation of peasantry and other poor people.

Rajendra Prasad (seated, left) and An igraha Narayan Sinha (seated right) joined Gandhiji during the Champaran struggle

The mass character of the nationalist movement was also due to the social reforms and other constructive activities initiated by Gandhiji. He devoted himself to the fight against the inhuman practice of untouchability. As you know, millions of Indians in those days led lives of humiliating degradation because they were considered 'untouchables' by people belonging to the so-called upper castes. One of Gandhiji's greatest contributions to the Indian people was his crusade to root out this evil. To him the so-called untouchables were Harijans. In his *Ashrams* he and his followers performed the jobs which upper caste Hindus thought must be performed by the so-called untouchables, like cleaning of latrines.

Gandhiji also worked for the upliftment of the people living in villages. According to him, there could be no progress in India unless there was an improvement in the life of the people in villages where about 80 per cent of Indians lived. He worked for the starting of small industries in villages. He popularised *Khadi*. It became essential for every Congressman to wear Khadi. *Charkha* became an important symbol of this emphasis on village industries and was also later, made a part of the flag of the Congress.

Gandhiji was opposed to all things that divided man from man. He preached the message of universal brotherhood. He was an ardent champion of Hindu-Muslim unity and, as perhaps you know, he finally became a martyr to this cause.

British Policy After the War

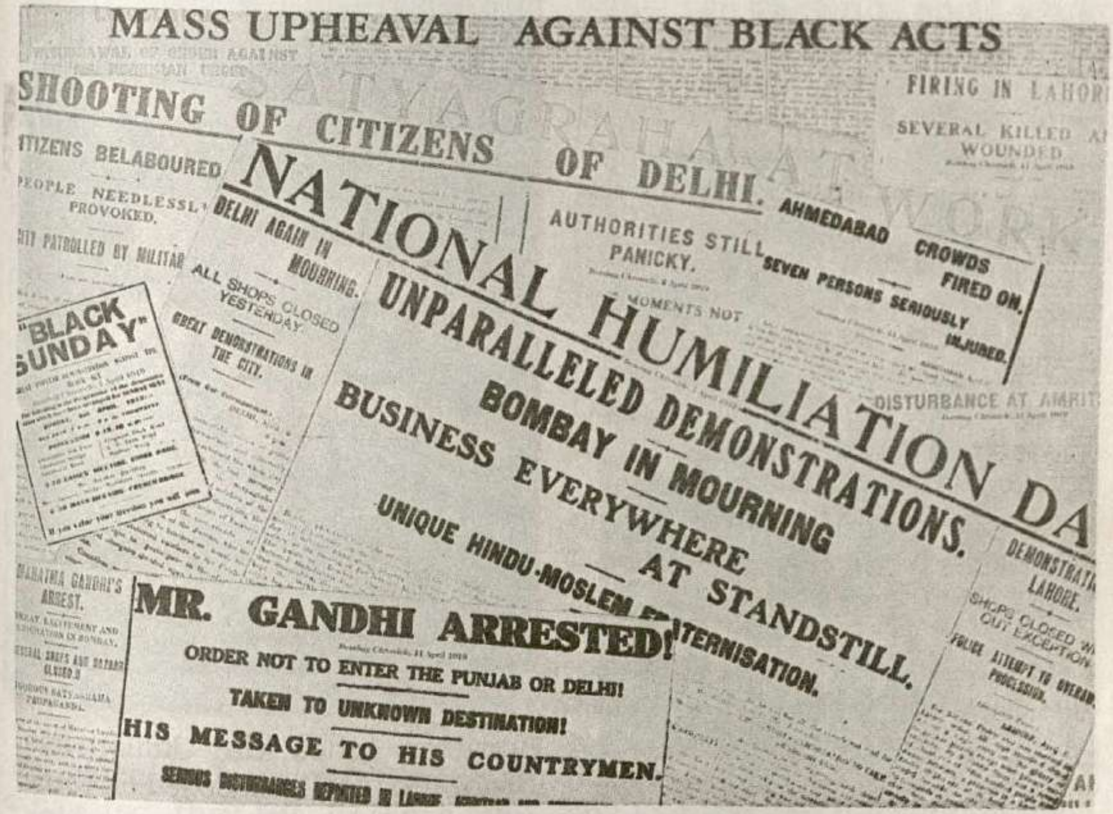
During the War Britain and her allies had said that they were fighting the War for the freedom of nations. Many Indian leaders believed that after the War was over, India would be given Swaraj. The British government, however, had no intention of conceding the demands of the Indian people.

Changes were introduced in the administrative system as a result of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, called the Government of India Act, 1919. According to these reforms, the Central Legislative Council was replaced by two houses—the Imperial Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. The majority in both these houses consisted of elected members. There was, however, no significant change in the powers of the central legislature, that is, the two houses at the centre. The members of the Executive Council, who were like ministers, were not responsible to the legislature, that is, they remained in power whether the majority of the members of the legislature supported them or not. The provincial legislatures also were enlarged and now had a majority of elected members. They were given wider powers under the system of *dyarchy* or dual government, which was introduced in the provinces.

Under his system, some departments such as education and public health were placed in charge of ministers responsible to the legislature. The more important departments such as finance and police remained directly under the control of the Governor. The Governor could also reject any decision of the minister. Thus, the powers of the ministers and of the legislatures in the provinces, to whom the ministers were responsible, were limited. For example, if the minister in charge of education wanted to implement a scheme for expansion of education, the money required for this had to be sanctioned by the Governor. The Governor could also reject the scheme. Besides, the Governor-General could reject any decision of the province. The number of voters who elected members of the two Houses of the Central Legislature and the Provincial Assemblies was extremely limited. For the Central Legislative Assembly, for example, the total number of people who were given the right to vote was about one per cent of the adult population of the country under direct British rule. All the important powers remained with the Governor-General and his Executive Council, who continued to be responsible to the British government and not to the Indian people. In the Provinces, as you have seen, the Governors continued to enjoy wide powers.

These changes were nowhere near the Swaraj that the people had hoped to achieve at the end of the War. There was widespread discontent throughout the country. In the midst of this discontent, the government resorted to new measures of repression. In March 1919, the Rowlatt Act was passed. This was based on the report of the Rowlatt Commission which has been mentioned earlier. The Assembly had opposed it. Many leaders who were members of the Assembly, resigned in protest. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in his letter of resignation, said that "a Government that passes or

Mohammad Ali Jinnah



MASS UPHEAVAL AGAINST BLACK ACTS

SATYAGRAHA AT WORK

SHOOTING OF CITIZENS OF DELHI.

ITIZENS BELABOURED

EOPLE NEEDLESSL PROVOKED.

ITY PATROLLED BY MILITAR

DELHI AGAIN IN MOURNING.

ALL SHOPS CLOSED YESTERDAY

GREAT DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE CITY.

"BLACK SUNDAY"

NATIONAL HUMILIATION DA

UNPARALLELED DEMONSTRATIONS.

BOMBAY IN MOURNING

BUSINESS EVERYWHERE AT STANDSTILL.

UNIQUE HINDU-MOSLEM FRATERNISATION.

AUTHORITIES STILL PANICKY.

MOMENTS NOT

AHMEDABAD

SEVEN PERSONS SERIOUSLY INJURED.

CROWDS FIRED ON.

FIRING IN LAHOR

SEVERAL KILLED A WOUNDED

DISTURBANCE AT AMRIT

DEMONSTRATI LAHORE.

SHOPS CLOSED W OUT EXCEPTION

POLICE ATTEMPT TO OVERA PROCESSION.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S ARREST.

GREAT EXCITEMENT AND INDIGNATION IN BOMBAY.

GENERAL SHOPS AND BAZAAR CLOSED.

VIGOROUS SATYAGRAHA PROPAGANDA.

MR. GANDHI ARRESTED!

ORDER NOT TO ENTER THE PUNJAB OR DELHI!

TAKEN TO UNKNOWN DESTINATION!

HIS MESSAGE TO HIS COUNTRYMEN.

Newspaper headlines about the protests against the Black Acts in early April 1919

sanctions such a law in times of peace forfeits its claim to be called a civilized government". It empowered the government to put people in jails without any trial. The passing of this Act aroused the indignation of the people. The new measures of repression were condemned as Black Acts. Gandhiji, who had formed a Satyagraha Sabha earlier, called for a country-wide protest. Throughout the country, 6 April 1919 was observed as a National Humiliation Day. There were demonstrations and *Hartals* all over the country. All business throughout the country came to a standstill. Such protests of a united people had never been witnessed at any time in India before. The government resorted to brutal

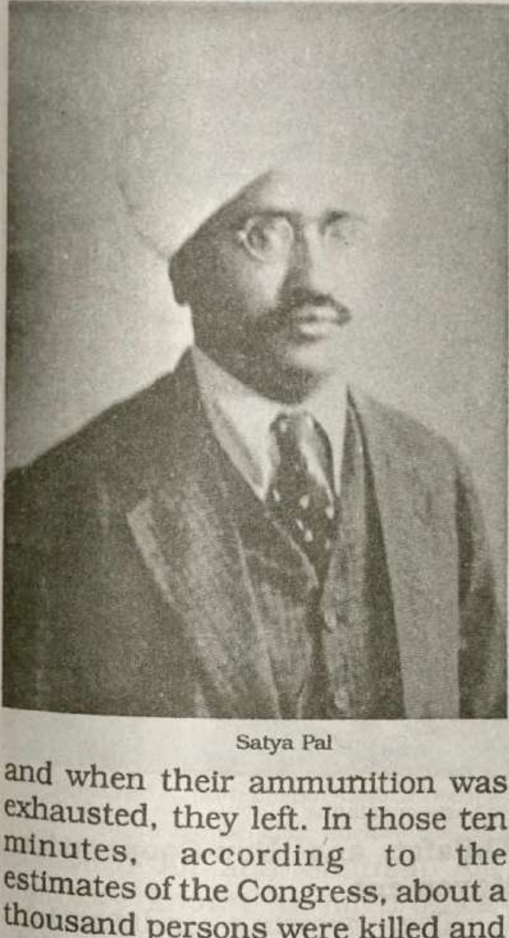
Gandhiji and Umar Subhani coming out of a mosque in Bombay after addressing a meeting on 6 April 1919

measures to put down the agitation and there were lathi-charges and firings at a number of places.

Jallianwala Bagh Massacre

In the midst of this repression, a ghastly massacre took place at Amritsar. On 10 April 1919, two nationalist leaders, Satya Pal and Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew were arrested. There is a small park in Amritsar called the Jallianwala Bagh. The park is enclosed on three sides by high walls. A narrow lane leads to the park. On 13th April people gathered there to protest against the arrest of the two leaders. The meeting was peaceful. There were many old men, women and children in the meeting. Suddenly, a British military officer, General Dyer, entered the park with his troops. Without even giving a warning to the people to disperse, he ordered his troops to open fire. The troops fired at the unarmed crowd for ten minutes

Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew

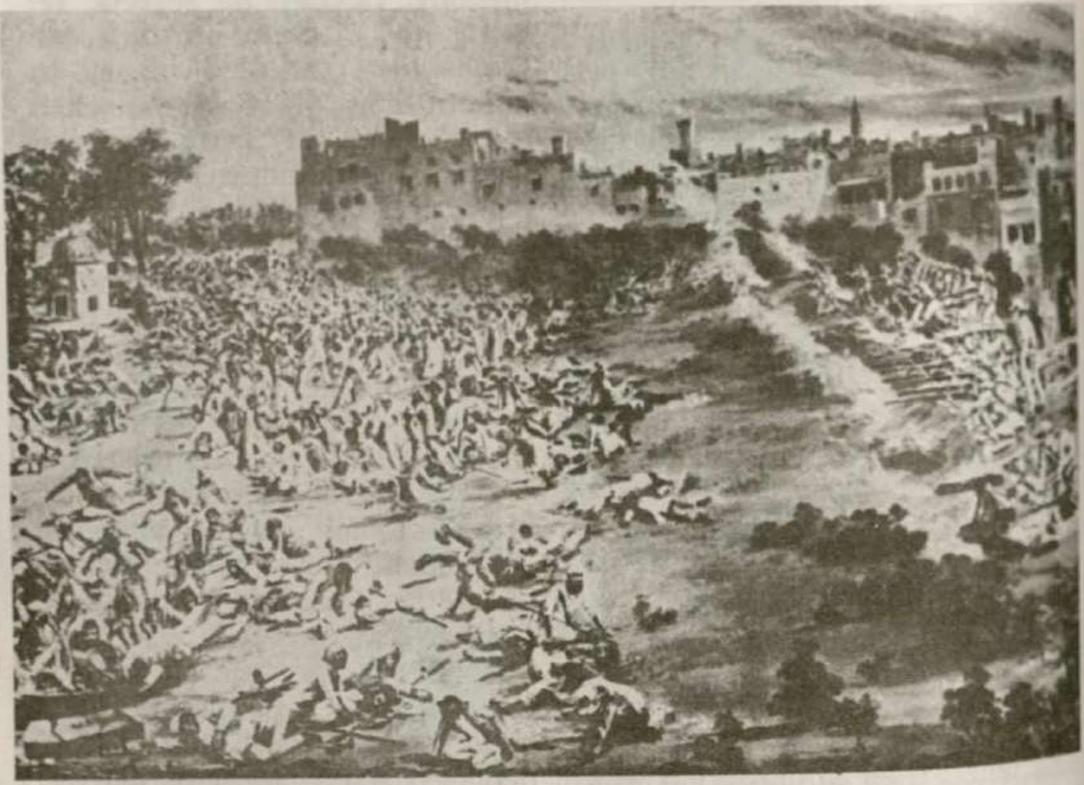


Satya Pal

and when their ammunition was exhausted, they left. In those ten minutes, according to the estimates of the Congress, about a thousand persons were killed and about 2000 wounded. The bullet marks can be still seen on the walls of the Jallianwala Bagh which is now a national memorial.

The massacre had been a calculated act and Dyer declared with pride that he had done it to produce 'moral effect' on the people and that he had made up his mind that he would shoot down all men if they were going to continue the meeting. He had no regrets. He went to England and some Englishmen collected money to honour him. Others were shocked at this act of brutality and demanded an inquiry. A British newspaper called it as 'one of the bloody massacres of modern history'. About 21 years later, on 13 March 1940, Udham Singh, an Indian revolutionary, shot Michael O'Dwyer dead. He was the Lt. Governor of Punjab at the time of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

The massacre aroused the fury of the Indian people and the government replied with further brutalities. People in Punjab were made to crawl on the streets. They were put in open cages and flogged. Newspapers were banned and their editors put behind the bars or deported. A reign of terror, like the one that followed the suppression of the revolt of 1857, was let loose. Rabindranath Tagore, who had been knighted by the British, renounced his knighthood. In his letter to the Viceroy, he declared: "The time has come when the badges of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation and I for my part wish to stand shorn of all special distinctions, by the side of those of my countrymen, who, for their so-called insignificance, are liable to



Massacre at Jallianwala bagh—a painting

suffer a degradation not fit for human beings". The massacre marked a turning point in the history of the struggle for freedom. In December 1919, the Congress session was held at Amritsar. It was attended by a large number of people, including peasants. It was clear that the brutalities had only added fuel to the fire and made the people's determination stronger to fight for their freedom and against oppression.

Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement

The growing indignation against the British rule led to the launching of the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation movement. Turkey had fought against Britain in the First World War. At the end of the War, Turkey, which was one of the defeated countries, suffered injustices at the hands of Britain. In 1919, a movement was organised under the leadership of

Mohamed Ali (left), Bharati Krishna Tirathji-Shankaracharya of Sharda Peeth (centre), Shaukat Ali (right) and Saifuddin Kitchlew (sitting, ground) who were tried in Karachi in 1921.

Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali, popularly known as Ali brothrs, Abul Kalam Azad, Hasrat Mohani and others to force the British government to undo these injustices. All these leaders had been imprisoned by the government during the War and were released after it. The Khilafat Committee which was set up to conduct this movement was joined by Gandhiji. The Sultan of Turkey was also considered the Caliph or Khalifa, the religious head of the Muslims. Therefore, the movement over the question of the injustice done to Turkey was called the Khilafat movement. It gave a call for non-cooperation. The movement on the Khilafat question soon merged with the movement against the repression in Punjab and for Swaraj.

In 1920, the Congress, first at a special session held at Calcutta and later at the regular session held at Nagpur under Gandhiji's leadership, adopted a new programme of struggle against the government. At the Nagpur session which was attended by about 15,000 delegates, the Congress Constitution was amended and "the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means" became the First Article of the Constitution of the Congress. The movement was aimed at undoing the injustices done to Punjab and Turkey, and the attainment of Swaraj. It is called the Non-Cooperation Movement because of the methods adopted in this movement. It was launched in stages. It began with the renunciation of honorary titles like 'Sir' that Indians had received from the British government. Subramania Iyer and Rabindranath Tagore had already done so. Gandhiji returned his Kaiser-i-Hind medal in August 1920. Many others followed. Indians no longer thought it honourable to receive titles from the British government and thus to be associated with it. This was followed by the boycott of legislatures. Most people refused to cast their votes when elections to the legislatures were held. Thousands of students and teachers left schools and colleges. New educational institutions like the Jamia Millia at Aligarh (later shifted to Delhi) and Kashi Vidya Peeth at Benaras were started by nationalists. Government servants resigned their jobs. Lawyers boycotted law courts. Foreign cloth was burnt in bonfires. There were strikes and *hartals* all over the country.

The movement was a great success and the firings and arrests could not stop it. Before the year 1921 was out, 30,000 people were in jail. They included most of the prominent leaders. Gandhiji, however, was still free. A rebellion had broken out in some parts of Kerala. The rebels were mostly Moplah peasants; hence it is called the Moplah rebellion. The rebellion was suppressed by terrible brutalities. More than 2000 Moplah were killed and about 45,000 arrested. An example of the brutalities was suffocation to death of 67 Moplah prisoners in a railway wagon when they were being shifed from one place to another.

The 1921 session of the Congress was held at Ahmedabad. It was presided over by Hakim Ajmal Khan. The session decided to continue the movement and to launch the final stage of the Non-Cooperation Movement. This was to be done by giving a call to the people to refuse to pay taxes. It was started by Gandhiji in Bardoli in

B.G. Horniman, editor of the newspaper *Bombay Chronicle*, was ordered to leave India for his writings condemning British atrocities.

Gujarat. It was a very important stage because when people openly declare that they would not pay taxes to the government, they mean that they no longer recognise that the government is legitimate. This is a very powerful method of fighting an oppressive government. Gandhiji had always emphasised that the entire movement should be peaceful. However, people were not always able to contain themselves. In Chauri Chaura in Uttar Pradesh, on 5 February 1922, the police, without any provocation, fired at the people who were taking part in a demonstration. The people, in their anger, attacked the police station and set it on fire. Twenty-two policemen who were inside the police station were killed. Gandhiji had made it a condition that the movement should remain completely peaceful. Gandhiji, hearing the news of the incident, called off the movement. On 10th March 1922, he was arrested and sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

With the calling off of the movement, one more phase of the nationalist movement was over. In this movement large masses of people participated all over the country. It spread to the villages also. People came out in open defiance of the government to demand Swaraj. The movement also strengthened the unity between the Hindus and the Muslims. One of the most popular slogans during the movement was 'Hindu Musalman Ki Jai."

EXERCISES

I. Answer the following questions.

1. What were the main differences in the outlook and methods of the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' ?
2. Why and when was the partition of Bengal effected ? What was its impact on the growth of Indian nationalism ?
3. What is meant by the Swadeshi and Boycott movements ? How did they arouse the feeling of nationalism among the Indian people ?
4. What were the major features of the Morley-Minto Reforms ? Why did the nationalist leaders condemn them ?
5. Describe the main developments in the nationalist movement during the First World War.
6. What methods did Gandhiji advocate in the struggle for freedom ?
7. What was the British policy in India immediately after the First World War ?
8. What were the aims of the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation movements ? What were the methods adopted to achieve those aims ?
9. Who were the revolutionaries ? What were the methods adopted by them to overthrow the British rule ?
10. Write short notes on : (i) Lucknow Pact, (ii) Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

II. Given below are a few statements. Put a tick mark against the statement if it is true and a cross mark if it is false.

1. In 1905, Bengal was partitioned with a view to creating disunity among Hindus and Muslims.
2. The Swadeshi movement was started by Gandhiji in 1905.
3 The Act of 1909 did not satisfy the aspirations of the Indian people.
4. The Muslim League was formed in 1906

5. The Home Rule Leagues were formed during the First World War.
6. The Congress adopted the attainment of Swaraj as its aim for the first time in 1910.

III. Given below are events and movements in Column 'A' and names of some persons in column 'B' connected with them. Match column 'A' with column 'B'.

A	B
1. Formation of the Muslim League	Lord Curzon
2. Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements	Dadabhai Naoroji
3. Jallianwala Bagh massacre	General Dyer
4. Partition of Bengal	Agha Khan
5. Congress Session of 1906	Ali Brothers

IV. Things to Do

1. Collect photographs of some important leaders connected with the Indian national movement. Paste them in your album.
2. Prepare a time-line showing on it some important landmarks in the struggle for freedom from 1905 to 1922.
3. Prepare a list of names of Presidents of the Indian National Congress from 1905 to 1922.
4. Try to collect more information on the life of Gandhiji with the help of your teacher. Prepare an essay on the basis of your readings and read it to your classmates.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Nationalist Movement : (1923-1939)

FOR SOME years after the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation movement, there was no nation-wide mass struggle. For sometime, there was a widespread feeling of disappointment and frustration in the country. There were communal riots and the Hindu-Muslim unity– achieved before and during the Non-Cooperation struggle– seemed to be weakening. The struggle for freedom had apparently suffered a setback. These years, however, were also years of preparation for a more powerful struggle. The Swaraj Party formed in 1923 and the Constructive Programme of the Congress helped in keeping the spirit of the freedom struggle alive and spread its message throughout the country. In the meantime, new forces arose in the nationalist movement, which made the objectives of the struggle for freedom more radical and clearer than before. Soon, the country-wide mass struggle was resumed and on a scale much bigger than before.

Swaraj Party and Constructive Programme

After the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation movement, the Congress was divided into two groups. When the Non-Cooperation movement was launched, it had been decided to boycott the legislatures. One group led by C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru and Vithalbhai Patel wanted that the Congress should take part in the elections and wreck the working of legislatures from *within*. The other group, which was led by Vallabhbhai Patel, C. Rajagopalachari and Rajendra

Motilal Nehru

Prasad, was opposed to this. They wanted the Congress to be engaged in the constructive programme.

In 1922, the Congress session held at Gaya and presided over by C.R. Das, rejected the proposal for entering the legislatures. The supporters of this proposal formed the Congress Khilafat Swarajya Party, popularly known as the Swaraj Party, in 1923. At a special session held at Delhi under the Presidentship of Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress permitted the Swarajists to contest the elections. The Swarajists won a large number of seats in the central and provincial legislatures. In the absence of mass political activities in this period, the Swarajists played a significant role in keeping the spirit of anti-British protest alive. They made it almost impossible for the British rulers to get the approval of the legislatures for their policies and proposals.

Vithalbhai Patel. Sitting on his right is Subhas Chandra Bose

For example, in 1928, the government introduced a bill in the Legislative Assembly which would give it the power to expel from the country those non-Indians who supported India's struggle for freedom. The bill was defeated. When the government tried to introduce this bill again, Vithalbhai Patel who was the President of the Assembly refused to allow it. The debates in the legislatures, in which Indian members often outwitted the government and condemned the government, were read with interest and enthusiasm throughout the country.

The boycott of the legislatures was started again when the mass political struggle was resumed in 1930.

Gandhiji was released in February 1924, and the Constructive Programme which was accepted by both the sections of the Congress became the major activity of the Congress. The most important components of the Constructive Programme were the spread of Khadi, promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity and the removal of untouchability. It became compulsory for anyone who was a member of any Congress Committee to wear hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar while engaged in any political or Congress activity, and spin 2000 yards of yarn every month. The All India Spinners' Association was set up and Khaddar Bhandars were opened all over the country. Gandhiji considered Khadi as the key to the liberation of the poor from their misery and to the economic well-being of the country. It provided means of livelihood to millions of people and enabled spreading the message of the freedom struggle to every part of the country, particularly in the rural areas. It brought the common people of the country close to the Congress and made the uplift of the common people an essential part of the work of the Congress. The Charkha became the symbol of the struggle for freedom. After the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation movement, communal riots had broken out in some parts of the country. The fight against the poison of communalism was essential for maintaining and strengthening the unity of the people and for carrying on the struggle for freedom. Gandhiji's work against untouchability was important for removing the worst evil from the Indian society as well as for drawing the downtrodden and oppressed sections of Indian society into the struggle for freedom.

Movement of Peasants and Workers

You have read earlier about the peasant revolts which broke out from time to time in different parts of the country since the establishment of British rule in India. The peasants participated in large numbers in the first truly mass movement for the struggle for freedom, the Non-Cooperation movement. Kisan Sabhas were organised in different parts of the country which fought against the oppression of the zamindars and the British authorities. The peasants in many places refused to pay revenue and rent. Some of the leaders who helped in organizing the peasants were Baba Ramchandra, Vijay Singh Pathik, Sahajananda Saraswati and N.G. Ranga. Alluri Sitaramaraju led a revolt of peasants and tribal people in Andhra. He was captured and killed in 1924. You have already read about the Moplah rebellion during the period of the Non-Cooperation movement. Some of the earliest activities of Gandhiji in India were connected with the struggles of the peasants.

The movements of peasants had two aspects, both of which were connected with the nationalist struggle for freedom. One aspect was the participation by the peasants in the struggle for freedom which gave the struggle its wide mass base and support and made it a truly mass movement. The other was related to the grievances of the peasants– oppression of the zamindars, the government and the money lenders, high revenue, rent and landlessness. The redressal of peasants' grievances became a major component of the objectives of the struggle for freedom. Many prominent nationalist leaders played an important role in leading the struggles of the peasants on their specific demands. In 1928, Vallabhbhai Patel led the struggle of the peasants of Bardoli against increase in revenue. Though the organization of peasants existed in many parts of the country, the first all India organization of peasants, the All India Kisan Sabha, was formed in 1936. This organization promoted close links between the demands of the peasants and the struggle for freedom.

Vallabhbhai Patel

The industrial workers, which were a new class in Indian society, also had begun organizing themselves from the early years of the 20th century. One of the first major trade unions to be formed was the Madras Labour Union in 1918. Its important leaders included B.P. Wadia, Thiru V. Kalyanasundaram and Chakkarai Chettiar. Similar trade unions of workers were formed in the other major industrial cities in India. One of the pioneers of the trade union movement in India was N.M. Joshi. He played a leading role in building the first all India organization of workers, the All-India Trade Union Congress. This organization was formed in Bombay in 1920. Its first session was presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai. As in the case of the peasants, the workers' movement, which was primarily concerned with improving workers' living conditions, was also closely connected with the nationalist movement. Many important nationalist leaders, such as C.R. Das, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose, also became Presidents of the All India Trade Union Congress.

The workers' and peasants' movements were deeply influenced by socialist ideas. The leaders of the socialist movement in India played an increasingly important role in organizing workers and peasants. By their participation in the struggle for freedom, they deeply influenced its social and economic objectives.

Spread of Socialist Ideas

You have read in Chapter One about the rise of socialist ideas and movements in the 19th century in Europe and about the Russian Revolution of 1917. The ideas of socialism and the movements based on those ideas were aimed at putting an end to the inequalities which the capitalist system had created. The socialist movements were 'internationalist' in their outlook, that is, they regarded common people and workers of all countries as brothers and were opposed to the domination of one country by another. They supported movements for establishing social and economic equality in all parts of the world as well as struggles for freedom from imperialist rule.

Some leaders of the Indian freedom movement, particularly the revolutionaries who were active outside India, had come into contact with leaders of the socialist movement in Europe and had been influenced by socialist ideas. The Russian Revolution put an end to the autocratic rule of the Russian emperor called the Czar, and started building socialism in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) which included, besides

Russia, many other territories which had been conquered by the Russian emperors. The Russian Revolution proclaimed the right of every nation to determine its own destiny and extended its support to all peoples fighting for their independence. M.N. Roy, an Indian revolutionary who was living abroad, was for many years active in the Communist International which was set up by communist parties of many countries. Influenced by the ideas of socialism and the Russian Revolution, a number of socialist and communist groups were formed in India to popularize the ideas of socialism. Most of the leaders of these groups had taken part in the Non-Cooperation movement. Some of the leaders of these groups were S.A. Dange, M. Singaravelu, Shaukat Usmani and Muzaffar Ahmad. Some of these groups came together and formed the Communist Party of India in 1925. The communists played an important role in organizing workers and peasants.

The influence of socialist ideas and the Russian Revolution was widespread among the youth of the country and the younger leaders of the nationalist movement. The most important leader of the nationalist movement, who played a leading role in popularizing socialist ideas in India, was Jawaharlal Nehru. He stressed that it was necessary to link the struggle for freedom with the struggle of the working people for a better life. In 1934, under his influence, the Congress Socialist Party was formed. This party worked within the Congress. It also played an important role in organizing peasants and workers and in influencing the policies of the Congress with regard to the social and economic objectives of the freedom struggle.

The rise of peasants' and workers' movement and the growing popularity of the socialist ideas in the country had a deep impact on the struggle for freedom. This impact became increasingly evident during the next phase of the struggle for freedom.

Revolutionary Movement

You have read about the activities of the revolutionary groups during the early years of the 20th century. For some years after the First World War, there was a decline in the activities of the revolutionaries. During the Non-Cooperation Movement, it had become clear that acts of violence against individuals were futile. The frustration caused by the withdrawal of the movement led to the revival of revolutionary activities in the 1920's. An organization called the Hindustan Republican Association was formed by Sachin Sanyal, Jogesh Chatterji and others. Its aim was to organize an armed revolution to overthrow the British rule. In 1925, a group of revolutionaries stopped a train which was going from Hardoi to Lucknow, at a place near Kakori, and looted the cash from a safe which belonged to the government. The purpose of the robbery was to raise funds for revolutionary activities. A number of revolutionaries were arrested after this incident and tried in the Kakori Conspiracy Case. Four of them—Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaqullah Khan, Roshan Singh and Rajendra Lahiri—were sentenced to death and were hanged. Others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Chandra Shekhar Azad who also belonged to the Hindustan Republican Association escaped arrest. He joined hands with other revolutionaries and in 1928 the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army was formed. The most prominent leader of this organization was Bhagat Singh.

Bhagat Singh in jail

In December 1928, a police officer named Saunders was assassinated. He was believed to have been responsible for the death of Lala Lajpat Rai earlier as a result of the lathi blows at the hands of the police. The most dramatic act of the revolutionaries took place in the Central Legislative Assembly on 8 April 1929. Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt threw two bombs in the Assembly to protest against new repressive laws and the arrest of 31 labour leaders which had taken place earlier in March. It was clear that the bombs were thrown as a protest and not with the aim of killing anyone. Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt did not try to escape but stood there raising the slogan 'Inquilab Zindabad'. They were arrested. Later, most other revolutionaries of this group were also arrested. They went on a hunger strike in jail to protest against the treatment meted out to them. The death of one of the revolutionaries, Jatin Das, on the 64th day of his hunger strike shocked the country. During their trial, the revolutionaries displayed great courage and became legendary figures. Bhagat Singh, particularly, was admired throughout the country for his heroism. Three of the revolutionaries, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev, were sentenced to death. Of the others, seven were imprisoned for life.

In spite of the country-wide protest, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were executed on 23 March 1931. The news of the execution came as a rude shock to the people and there were hartals, processions, and mourning throughout the country. Chandra Shekhar Azad, who had again escaped arrest, was shot dead in a park in Allahabad in an encounter with the police.

One of the most important events in the history of the revolutionary movement took place in Bengal in 1930. On 18 April 1930, the revolutionaries of the Indian Republican Army organized by Surya Sen raided the police armoury at Chittagong. The British rule ceased to exist in Chittagong for sometime. Soon after, acts of revolutionary violence took place at other places. In Punjab, Hari Kishan made an attempt on the life of the governor of Punjab. In December 1930, three young men—Benoy Bose, Badal Gupta and Dinesh Gupta—entered the Writers' Building in Calcutta, and killed the Inspector-General of Prisons. Most of the leaders of the Indian Republican Army who had escaped after fighting the British troops were later arrested. Two of them—Surya Sen and Tarakeswer Dastidar—were sentenced to death. Two young girls who played an important role in the activities of the Indian Revolutionary Army were Pritilata Waddedar and Kalpana Dutt. To escape capture by the British, Pritilata killed herself by taking poison. Kalpana Dutt was sentenced to life imprisonment.

The revolutionary activities, which had been revived in the early 1920's, continued in different parts of the country for a few years. In the meantime, the revolutionaries had started realizing the futility of the acts of violence. Most of them were drawn to the ideas of socialism. Bhagat Singh and his comrades had started emphasizing the need to organize peasants and workers to bring about a socialist revolution in the country. Most of the revolutionaries who were jailed in various prisons, including the

Cellular Jail in the Andamans, on their release started organizing peasants' and workers' movement. Many of them joined the Congress and the Communist Party and began to play an important role in the mass struggles for freedom of the country.

Although most of the leaders of the nationalist movement were opposed to the methods of the revolutionaries and most people followed the non-violent methods of struggle, the revolutionaries were a constant source of inspiration to the people.

The activities of the revolutionaries in a period when there were no mass struggles, helped in making the people aware of the self-sacrifice and courage required in the struggle for independence. They played an important part in preparing the country for the next phase of the struggle.

Emergence of New Leaders

A new group of young leaders arose in the 1920's, which played an increasingly important role in the nationalist movement. The young leaders laid emphasis on organising the masses. They helped in clarifying the aims of the nationalist movement. In its early years, as you have seen, the nationalist movement was confined mainly to the educated people and the middle classes. Its aims, like the representation of Indians in the higher services and the governemnt, were also the aims of the middle class. The young leaders stressed that the people alone were sovereign and the nationalist movement could succeed only if it was based on the aspirations of the common people. They emphasised that independence was necessary for removing India's poverty and backwardness. The aim of the nationalist movement, according to them, was the reconstruction of Indian society- to root out poverty and backwardness and to establish a society based on equality and justice. For this, independence had to be achieved first through the struggle of the people themselves. These new leaders held great appeal for the youth of the country.

The young leaders of the nationalist movement were deeply influenced by socialist ideas and by the Russian Revolution. The anti-imperialist foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. and the progress made by the Asian parts of the U.S.S.R. after the Russian Revolution, especially appealed to them. The new leaders helped in popularising socialist ideas and strengthened the nationalist movement by making the establishment of a society based on equality of the people as its aim.

The most prominent of the new leaders were Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. Jawaharlal Nehru was the son of Motilal Nehru, who was an important leader of the Congress. He was born in 1889 and received his education in England. On his return to India, he came under the influence of Gandhiji, and joined the struggle for freedom. During the Non-Cooperation Movement, he was imprisoned. During his tour through the the villages of Uttar Pradesh he came into contact with the peasants and saw their sufferings. He became a champion of the aspirations of the common people for a better life. To him the struggle to improve the conditions of the people was inseparable from the struggle for independence. He was one of the first nationalist leaders to realise the sufferings of the people in the States ruled by Indian princes. The condition in most of these States was worse than in the rest of the country. He

Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose on their way to attend a meeting in Calcutta suffered imprisonment in Nabha, a princely State, when he went there to see the struggle that was being waged by the Akali Sikhs against the corrupt Mahants. The nationalist movement had been confined to the territories under direct British rule. Jawaharlal Nehru helped make the struggle of the people in the princely States a part of the nationalist movement for freedom. Next to Gandhiji, he became the most prominent leader of the Indian people in their struggle for freedom.

Subhas Chandra Bose was born in 1897 in Cuttack. His father was a lawyer and had been given the title of 'Rai Bahadur' which he later renounced. After completing his studies at Cuttack and Calcutta, Subhas went to England, on his parents' insistence, to study further and to appear for the Indian Civil Service examination. He was selected to the Indian Civil Service in 1920, standing fourth in the list of selected candidates. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre had deeply shocked him. In April 1921, he resigned from the Indian Civil Service and returned to India. Immediately after his return he plunged himself into the nationalist movement. He participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement and came under the influence of C.R. Das. In 1924, he was arrested on the charge of being connected with the revolutionaries and imprisoned for three years. He played a very important role in organizing students and youth of the country and bringing them into the struggle for freedom. He was one of the biggest leaders of the nationalist movement and came to be popularly known as Netaji.

Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose were the leaders of a new group in the nationalist movement. They wanted a more intense struggle against the British rule. They were not satisfied with the slogan of Swaraj. It meant self-government within the empire and thus it was less than complete independence. They advocated complete independence as the aim of the nationalist movement and the active participation of the common people as the only way to achieve this aim. Under their influence, the nationalist movement became increasingly militant.

The Simon Commission

The quiet that seemed to prevail in India after 1922 was broken in 1927. In that year, the British government appointed a Commission to enquire into the working of the Government of India Act of 1919 and to suggest further reforms in the system of administration. This Commission is known as the Simon Commission, after Sir John Simon who headed it. Its appointment came as a rude shock to the Indian people. The members of the Commission were all Englishmen and not a single Indian was included in it. The government showed no inclination of accepting the demand for Swaraj. The composition of the Commission confirmed the fears of the Indian people.

The appointment of the Commission sparked off a wave of protest all over the country. In 1927, the annual session of the Congress was held at Madras. It decided to boycott the Commission. The Muslim League also decided to boycott the Commission.

The Commission arrived in India on 3 February 1928. On that

SIMON GO BACK

Procession in Madras protesting against the Simon Commission

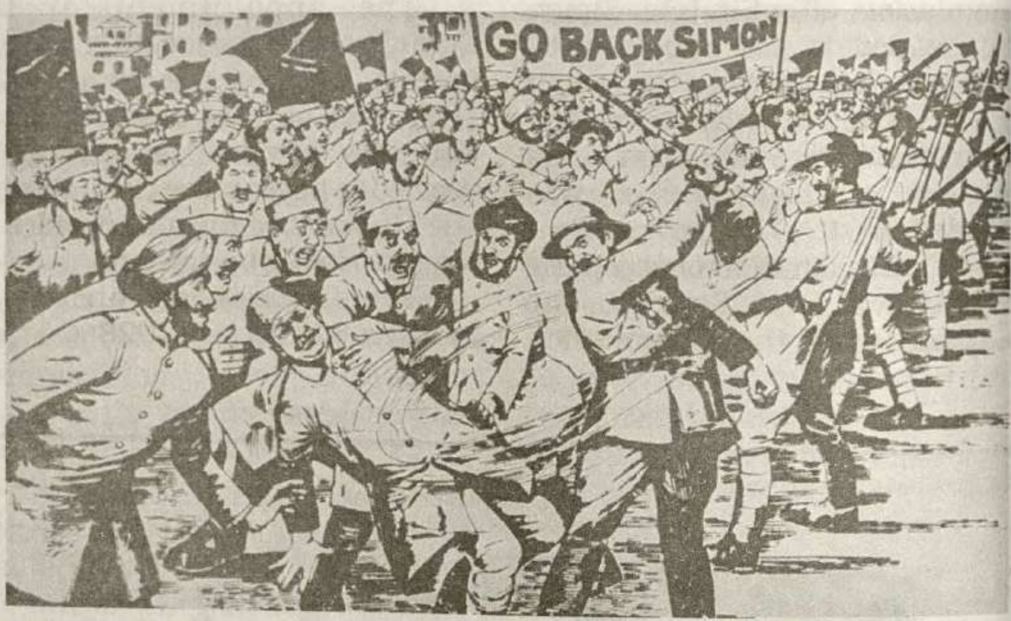


Illustration showing the police assault on Lala Lajpat Rai during a demonstration against the Simon Commission

day, the entire country observed a *hartal*. In the afternoon on that day, meetings were held all over the country to condemn the appointment of the Commission and to declare that the people of India would have nothing to do with it. There was firing at demonstrators in Madras and lathi charges at many places. The Commission faced massive protest demonstrations and *hartals* wherever it went. The Central Legislative Assembly decided by a majority that it would have nothing to do with the Commission. All over the country the cry of 'Simon Go Back' was raised. The police resorted to repressive measures. Thousands of people were beaten up. It was during these demonstrations that the great nationalist leader Lala Lajpat Rai, who was popularly known as Sher-i-Punjab, was severely assaulted by the police. He died of the injuries inflicted on him by the police. In Lucknow, Jawaharlal Nehru and Govind Ballabh Pant were among those who suffered blows of police lathis. The lathi blows crippled Govind Ballabh Pant for life.

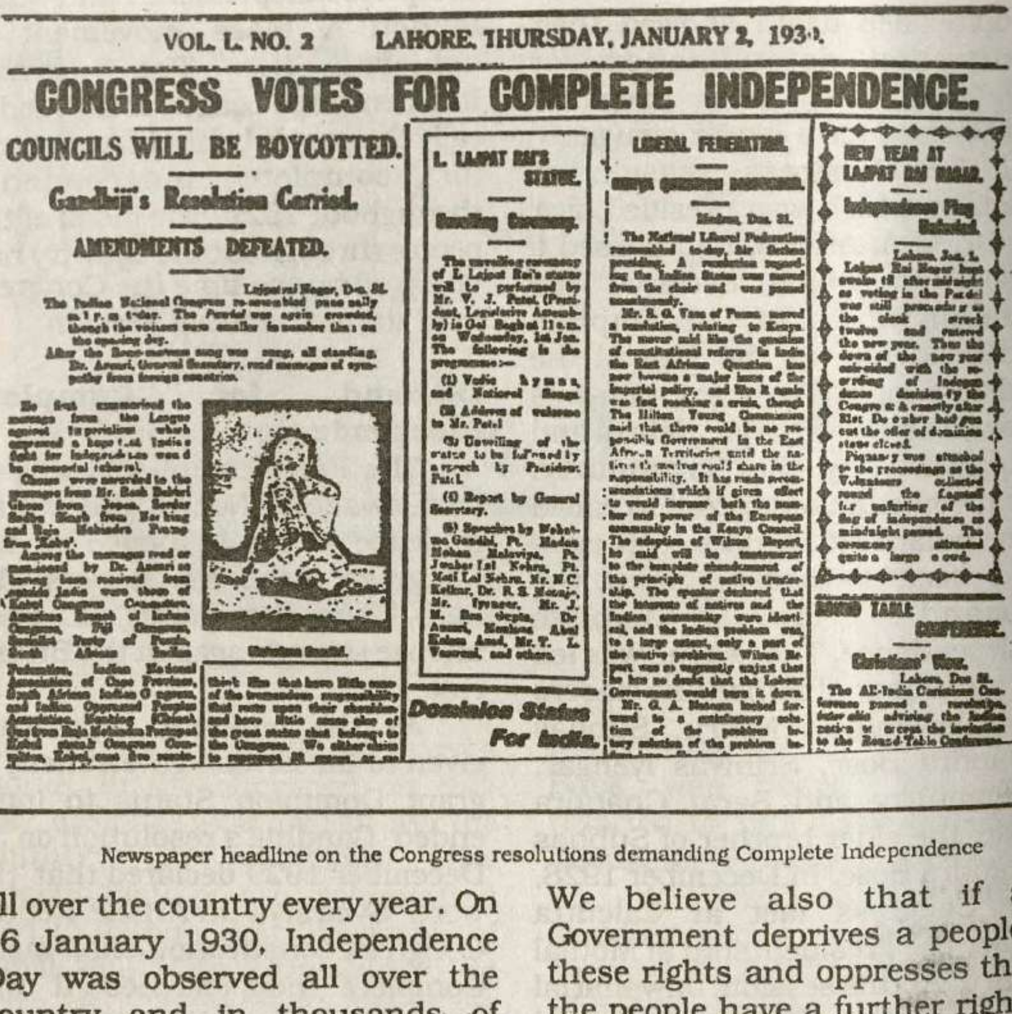
In the agitation against the Simon Commission, the Indian people once again showed their unity and determination for freedom. They now prepared themselves for a bigger struggle.

The Congress session at Madras, which was presided over by Dr. M.A. Ansari, had passed a resolution which declared the attainment of complete independence as the goal of the Indian people. The resolution was moved by Jawaharlal Nehru and supported by S. Satyamurty. Meanwhile, an organization called the Indian Independence League had been formed to press the demand for complete independence. The League was led by a number of important leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, Srinivas Iyengar, Satyamurty and Sarat Chandra Bose, the elder brother of Subhas Chandra Bose. In December 1928, the Congress met at Calcutta under the Presidentship of Motilal Nehru. At this session, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and many others pressed the Congress to demand complete independence. The Congress, however, passed a resolution demanding Dominion Status. This meant less than complete independence. But it was declared that if the Dominion Status was not granted within one year, the Congress would demand complete independence and would launch a mass movement to achieve it. The Indian Independence League continued to rally the people behind the demand for complete independence throughout 1929. The mood of the people throughout the country had changed by the time the Congress held its next annual session.

Demand for Complete Independence

The President of the session was Jawaharlal Nehru. This was an evidence of the influence on the Congress of the new leaders who had been demanding a more intense struggle against the British rule.

As the one-year ultimatum given to the British government to grant Dominion Status to India ended, Gandhiji's resolution on 31 December 1929 declared that 'the word "Swarajya" in Article 1 of the Congress constitution shall mean Complete Independence'. It was passed. It asked all Congressmen and nationalists not to participate in elections to the legislatures and to resign from the legislatures. To achieve this aim, it was decided to launch a Civil Disobedience Movement. The Congress also decided that 26 January would be observed as the Independence Day



VOL. L. NO. 2 LAHORE, THURSDAY, JANUARY 2, 193

CONGRESS VOTES FOR COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE.

COUNCILS WILL BE BOYCOTTED.

Gandhiji's Resolution Carried.

AMENDMENTS DEFEATED.

Lajpatrai Nagar, Dec. 31.

Mahatma Gandhi.

L. LAJPAT RAI'S STATUE.

Unveiling Ceremony.

The unveiling ceremony of L. Lajpat Rai's statue will be performed by Mr. V. J. Patel, (President, Legislative Assembly) in Gol Bagh at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, 1st Jan. The following is the programme:—

(1) Vedic hymns, and National Songs.

(2) Address of welcome to Mr. Patel

(3) Unveiling of the statue to be followed by a speech by President Patel.

(4) Report by General Secretary.

(5) Speeches by Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Pt. Moti Lal Nehru, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Dr. R. S. Moonje, Mr. Iyengar, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Dr. Ansari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. T. L. Vaswani, and others.

Dominion Status For India.

LIBERAL FEDERATION.

KENYA QUESTION DISCUSSED.

Madras, Dec. 31.

NEW YEAR AT LAJPAT RAI NAGAR.

Independence Flag Unfurled.

Lahore, Jan. 1.

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

Christians' View.

Lahore, Dec 31.

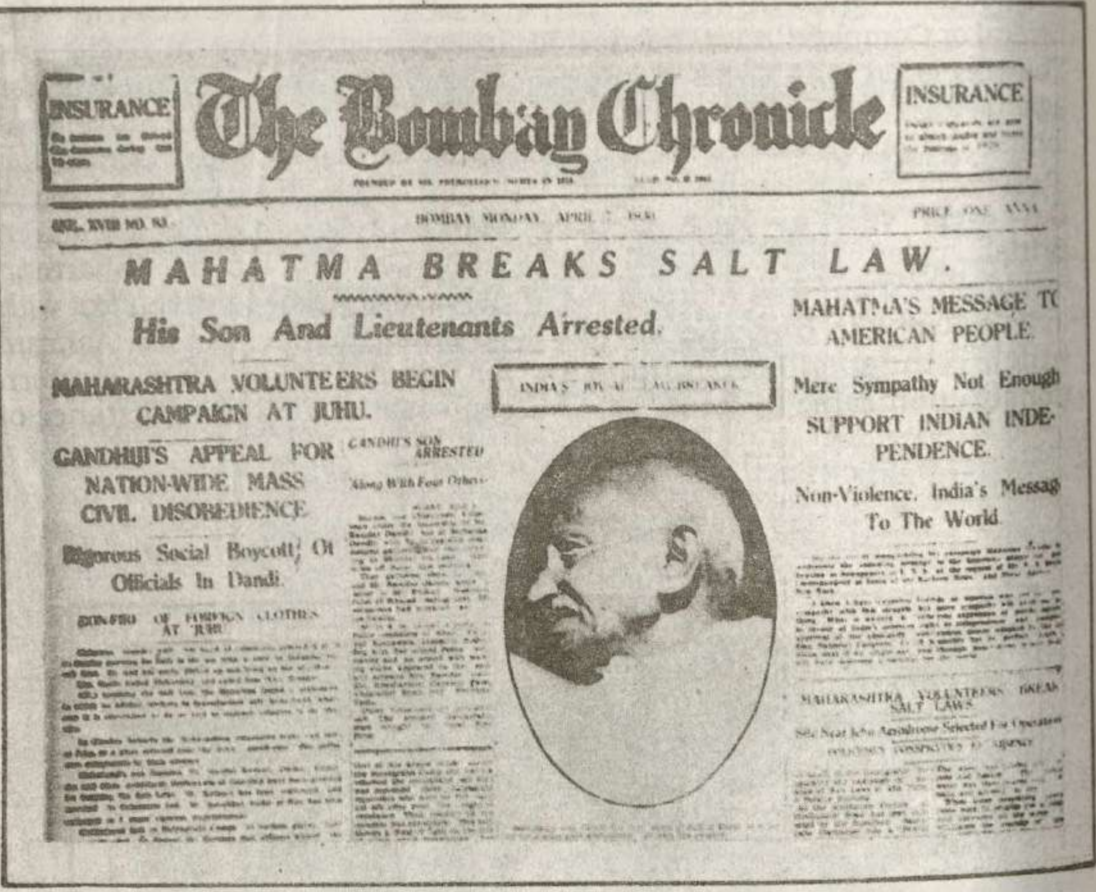
Newspaper headline on the Congress resolutions demanding Complete Independence

all over the country every year. On 26 January 1930, Independence Day was observed all over the country and in thousands of meetings, the people took a pledge which said, "We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or Complete Independence" They declared that it was "a crime against man and God to submit any longer" to the British rule. This day was observed as the Independence Day every year as long as the British ruled India. Later, the memorable day was chosen as India's Republic Day, the day on which independent India's Constitution came in force.

Civil Disobedience Movement

The observance of the Independence Day in 1930 was followed by the launching of the Civil Disobedience Movement under the leadership of Gandhiji. It began with the famous Dandi March of Gandhiji. On 12 March 1930, Gandhiji left the Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad on foot with 78 other members of the Ashram for Dandi, a village on the western sea-coast of India, at a distance of

Gandhiji with his volunteers during the famous Dandi March



The Bombay Chronicle

INSURANCE

INSURANCE

PRICE ONE ANNA

MAHATMA BREAKS SALT LAW.

His Son And Lieutenants Arrested.

MAHARASHTRA VOLUNTEERS BEGIN CAMPAIGN AT JUHU.

GANDHIJI'S APPEAL FOR NATION-WIDE MASS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Rigorous Social Boycott Of Officials In Dandi.

GANDHI'S SON ARRESTED

Along With Four Others

MAHATMA'S MESSAGE TO AMERICAN PEOPLE.

Mere Sympathy Not Enough

SUPPORT INDIAN INDEPENDENCE.

Non-Violence, India's Messag To The World.

MAHARASHTRA VOLUNTEERS BREAK SALT LAWS

Newspaper headline on the breaking of Salt Law by Gandhiji

about 385 km from Ahmedabad. They reached Dandi on 6 April 1930. There, Gandhiji broke the Salt Law. It was illegal for anyone to make salt as it was a government monopoly. Gandhiji defied the government by picking up a handful of salt which had been formed by the evaporation of sea water.

The defiance of the Salt Law was followed by the spread of Civil Disobedience Movement all over the country. Making of salt spread throughout the country in the first phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement. It became a symbol of the people's defiance of the government. In Tamil Nadu, C. Rajagopalachari led a march—similar to the Dandi March—from Trichinopoly to Vedaranyam. In

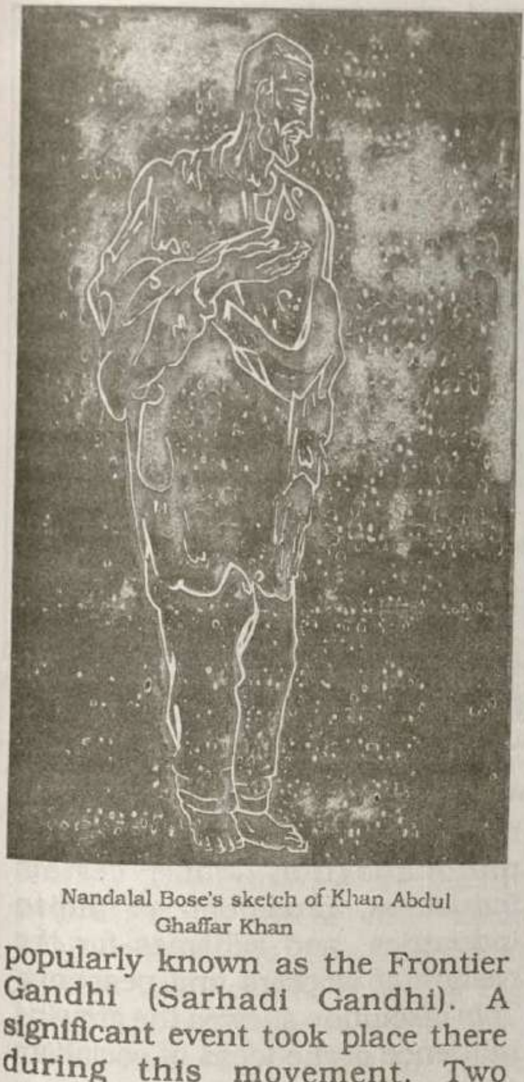
C. Rajagopalachari leading the march to Vedaranyam

Dharsana, in Gujarat, Sarojini Naidu, the famous poetess who was a prominent leader of the Congress and had been President of the Congress, led non-violent satyagrahis in a march to the salt depots owned by the government. Over 300 satyagrahis were severely injured and two killed in the brutal lathi charge by the police. There were demonstrations, *hartals*, boycott of foreign goods, and later refusal to pay taxes. Lakhs of people participated in the movement, including a large number of women.

All the important leaders were arrested and the Congress was banned. There were firings and lathi charges and hundreds of people were killed. About 90,000 persons were imprisoned within a year of the movement. The movement had spread to every corner of the country. In the North-West Frontier Province, the movement was led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who came to be

Young children getting ready to march in a procession in Pune during the Civil Disobedience Movement

Police beating up demonstrators in Calcutta during the Independence Day celebrations in Calcutta on 26 January 1931



Nandalal Bose's sketch of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan

popularly known as the Frontier Gandhi (Sarhadi Gandhi). A significant event took place there during this movement. Two platoons of Garhwali soldiers were ordered to fire at demonstrators in the city of Peshawar, but they refused to obey the orders. For a few days, the British control over the city of Peshawar ended. In Sholapur, there was an uprising in protest against Gandhiji's arrest and the people set up their own rule in the city. The activities of the revolutionaries in Chittagong led by Surya Sen and in other places have already been mentioned.

In November 1930, the British government convened the First Round Table Conference in London to consider the reforms proposed by the Simon Commission. The Congress, which was fighting for the independence of the country, boycotted it. But it was attended by the representatives of Indian Princes,Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha and some others. But nothing came out of it. The British government knew that without the participation of the Congress, no decision on constitutional changes in India would be acceptable to the Indian people. Early in 1931, efforts were made by Viceroy Irwin to persuade the Congress to join the Second Round Table Conference. An agreement was reached between Gandhiji and Irwin, according to which the government agreed to release all political prisoners against whom there were no charges of violence. The Congress was to suspend the Civil Disobedience Movement. Many nationalist leaders were unhappy with this agreement. However, at its Karachi session which was held in March 1931 and was presided over by Vallabhbhai Patel, the

Members of the Congress Working Committee during a meeting in Allahabad in January 1931. Standing, left to right, in the front are Mahadev Desai, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sardul Singh Kaveesher, Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. M.A. Ansari, Jawaharlal Nehru, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Abul Kalam Azad, J.M. Sengupta, Perin Ben Captain and Maniben Patel

Congress decided to approve the agreement and participate in the Second Round Table conference. Gandhiji was chosen to represent the Congress at the Conference which met in September 1931.

At the Karachi session of the Congress, an important resolution on Fundamental Rights and Economic Policy was passed. It laid down the policy of the nationalist movement on social and economic problems facing the country. It mentioned the fundamental rights which would be guaranteed to the people irrespective of caste and religion, and it favoured nationalisation of certain industries, promotion of Indian industries, and schemes for the welfare of workers and peasants. This resolution showed the growing influence of the ideas of socialism on the nationalist movement.

Besides Gandhiji, who was the sole representative of the Congress, there were other Indians who participated in this Conference. They included Indian Princes and Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communal leaders. These leaders played into the hands of the

Ghandhji and other delegates at the Second Round Table Conference

British. The Princes were mainly interested in preserving their position as rulers. The communal leaders had been selected by the British government to attend the Conference. They claimed to be representatives of their respective communities, and not the country, though their influence within their communities was also limited. Gandhiji alone as the representative of the Congress represented the whole country. Neither the Princes nor the communal leaders were interested in India's independence. Therefore, no agreement could be reached and the Second Round Table Conference ended in a failure. Gandhiji returned to India and the Civil Disobedience Movement was revived. The government repression had been continuing even while the Conference was going on and now it was intensified. Gandhiji and other leaders were arrested. The government's efforts to suppress the movement may be seen from the fact that in about a year 1,20,000 persons were sent to jail.

The movement was withdrawn in 1934. The Congress passed an important resolution in 1934. It demanded that a constituent assembly, elected by the people on the basis of adult franchise, be convened. It declared that only such an assembly could frame a constitution for India. It thus asserted that only the people had the right to decide the form of government under which they would live.

Though the Congress had failed to achieve its objective, it had succeeded in mobilizing vast sections of the people in the second great mass struggle in the country. It had also adopted radical objectives for the transformation of Indian society.

Movements in Princely states

You have read before that besides the Indian territories which were under direct British rule or British India, there were Indian States which were ruled by Indian Princes. These States were not truly independent. The British maintained these states to strengthen their own power. These states, numbering about 562, covered about one-fifth of the total population of India. Some of these states, for example, Jammu and Kashmir, Mysore and Hyderabad were very large, as large as some countries of Europe at that time, while some others were not more than a few villages. In most of these States, the condition of people was even worse than that of the people in the rest of the country. Most of them were treated as personal properties of the rulers. The rulers led lives of luxury. But no efforts were made to spread education, remove proverty or to improve living condition of the people. Many of these states still maintained many inhuman practices like forced labour, that is, making people work without paying them any wages. With the rise of the nationalist movement in British

Anne Mascarene

India, there was an awakening among the people of these States. They demanded democratic rights and democratic form of government. They condemned the extravagance and luxury of their rulers.

From the early, 1920s, the people of the states began to organize themselves to demand reforms in administration and an end to rulers' oppression. They demanded the establishment of representative government which would be responsible to the people and the Rule of Law in place of the autocratic rule in which the whims of the rulers was the law. Organizations such as Praja Mandals were formed in these States to fight for the rights of the people. Some of the earliest Praja Mandals were formed in States of Rajasthan under the leadership of Vijay Singh Pathik, Manikya Lal Verma and others. The

Leaders of the National Conference of Jammu and Kashmir. Shaikh Abdullah is seen sitting (centre) organisations of the people of the States came together in 1927 and formed an all India organisation called the All-India States people's Conference. Balwant Rai Mehta, who had founded the Praja Mandal in Bhavnagar in Gujarat, became the Secretary of this organisation. The All-India States People's Conference demanded that the Indian states should be regarded as parts of a common Indian nation. This organisation played an important role in creating an awareness among the people throughout India about the oppressive conditions in the states.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha

In the 1930s, the movements of the people of the Indian States grew powerful. Some of prominent leaders of these movements were Jai Narayan Vyas and Jamnalal Bajaj in Rajasthan, Sarangadhar Das in Orissa, Annie Mascarene and Pattom Thanu Pillai in Travancore, and Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah in Jammu and Kashmir. In Hyderabad, the movement was led by Swami Ramananda Tirtha. The Princes were suppressing these movements by the use of terror. For example, Sewa Singh Thikriwala, one of the prominent leaders of the Praja Mandal in Punjab, was put in jail in Patiala and he died of torture. The Princes also helped the British in suppressing the Civil Disobedience Movement. In suppressing the movements in their states, the Princes received the help of the British, including British troops. The British government used the Indian states to weaken the struggle for freedom. During the Round Table Conferences and other negotiations with the British government, the Princes opposed steps which would take the country on the road to freedom. Later, when the end of the

British rule seemed imminent, many of them claimed that their states were independent and that they had the right to remain as independent. The idea that India was one country and that the people of India constituted one nation was not a part of their thinking. Like the British rulers, the Indian Princes also tried to divide the people on the basis of religion. They supported communal organizations to break the unity of the people against their misrule. Sometimes they branded movements against their oppression as communal because the religion of the majority of the people in some States was different from that of the Princes.

The Congress, for many years, followed a policy of not interfering in the affairs of the States though individuals belonging to the Congress took part in the movements of the State's people. In 1938, the Congress at its session presided over by Subhas Chandra Bose, declared that the objective of Purna Swaraj was for the entire

A view of the pandal at the Congress session at Haripura in 1938. The session was presided over by Subhas Chandra Bose.

country including the States.

The Congress declared that it considered the States as parts of the Indian nation, and that the people of the States would have the same political, economic and social rights as the people in the rest of the country. Gradually, the struggle against the Princes became a part of the larger struggle for national independence. From the later years of the 1930's, the direct involvement of the national leaders in the movements against the misrule and oppression of the Princes became widespread.

Jawaharlal Nehru being taken in a procession in Ludhiana in 1939. He came there to preside over the session of the All India States People's Conference

Jawaharlal Nehru who had been supporting the cause of the people of the States for many years was made the President of the All-India States People's Conference in 1939.

Communal Parties and Their Role

You have read how the British government followed a policy of fomenting feelings to disunity among the Indian people to maintain their rule and to weaken the nationalist movement. One of their main tactics, as you have seen before, was to give encouragement to communalism. That is how the Muslim League was formed. In 1915, the Hindu Mahasabha was formed. The virus of communalism began to spread in the 1920's. Movements for religious conversion were started amongst Hindus and Muslims. These often created tensions between the members of the different communities. In the 1920's there were riots in the name of religion and many innocent people were killed. Attempts were made to curb the growth of communal tensions and a number of unity conferences were held. In 1924, Gandhiji went on a fast for 21 days and tried to restore peace. All such efforts, however, were successful only for short periods. In 1931, there were communal riots in Kanpur. Ganesh Shankar

Vidyarthi, one of the most prominent leaders of the nationalist movement, totally plunged himself into the work of restoring peace. He became a martyr to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity during these riots. He was killed while trying to save Hindus and Muslims from the violent mobs of the two communities.

From 1916, the Muslim League and the Congress had worked together for a few years. The Muslim League had started holding its sessions at the same place and time where the Congress sessions were held. This practice was given up in 1924. The Hindu Mahasabha also became active around this time. You have read earlier about the agitation against the corrupt Mahants by the Akalis. Communal leaders among Sikhs also started raising communal demands. In 1932, communal electorates which were earlier introduced for Muslims were extended to Sikhs.

The parties based on religion played a very harmful role in the struggle for independence. Though they professed to serve the interest of their communities, they actually served the interests of British rulers. During periods when thousands were in jail for participating in the struggle for freedom, the communal parties kept themselves aloof. Sometimes they joined hands and cooperated with the British government. For example, during the agitation against Simon Commission, some leaders of these parties welcomed the Simon Commission. At the Round Table Conferences, they fought over petty things with one another and started bargaining with the British government. The British government used them so that no agreement was reached on the question of India's freedom. The Congress advocated that the constitution of India could be framed only by the Indian people themselves and not by Englishmen in England.

While the nationalist movement stood for the reconstruction of Indian society on the basis of equality of all Indians, the communal parties were opposed even to social reforms. According to them, the interests of all Indians were not common. That is why instead of fighting for independence, they concentrated their energies on getting concessions from the British government for their respective communities. They represented the interests of the upper classes of their communities and not of the common people. The pressing problems of the common people, like the removal of poverty, did not interest them.

The activities of the communal

parties took a dangerous turn when they started saying that the Indian people were not one nation. They advanced the theory that there were two nations in India, the Hindus and the Muslims. While the nationalist movement united the people on the basis of their common aspirations to take India on the road of progress, the communal parties questioned the very basis of Indian nationhood. As you have read in your books on ancient and medieval India, the Indian people, through the centuries of their history, had developed a rich common culture. It was rich because of its variety. The Indian nation consisted of people who followed different religions, spoke different languages and practised different customs. This richness has been a source of pride to the Indian people and is something to be cherished. The communal parties tried to divide them.

The theory that Indian people were composed of two nations was a denial of the entire history of the Indian people. It had harmful consequences for the Indian people. The Muslim League gradually became wedded to the two-nation theory. It said that as Muslims constituted a minority of the Indian population, their interests would not be safe in the hands of the Hindus, the majority. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who in the early years of the 20th century had been a nationalist leader, became later one of the most prominent leader of the Muslim League. The Muslim League claimed that it was the sole representative of the Muslims. The British government agreed with this and, thus, promoted the Muslim League. Under his leadership, the Muslim League started thinking in terms of a separate state for Muslims. In March 1940, at Lahore session, the Muslim League demanded the creation of Pakistan. The Hindu Mahasabha, on the other hand, declared that only the Hindus in India constituted the nation.

The demand for a separate state was opposed by large sections of Muslims. In the struggle for independence, Muslims, along with the people belonging to other communities, had participated and, like others, they also had suffered from the repressive measures of the British government. They were in the Congress in large numbers. The organizations of the workers and peasants brought together people of all communities for common social, economic and political aims. Many of the greatest leaders of the nationalist movement were

Muslims. Most of the religious leaders of the Muslims were also opposed to the demand of the Muslim League.

The supporters of the two-nation theory refused to accept the historical fact that the destiny of Muslims was tied with that of other Indians and the immediate problem was to overthrow the foreign rule. The Muslims, the Hindus, the Sikhs, the Christians and others had the same problems—problems of poverty, backwardness, inequality. And these problems could be tackled only if the country was free and the nation remained united. Till the late 1930's, neither the Muslim League nor the communal groups among the Hindus were able to have much influence. For example, in areas like the North-West Frontier Province, where the Muslims constituted an overwhelming majority of the population, the Muslim League failed to have any influence.

However, in spite of the fact that an overwhelming majority of the people were not misled by the propaganda of the communal parties, the communal parties succeeded in making headway, particularly from the end of the late 1930's. The communal riots instigated by the communal parties further worsened the situation. The two-nation theory and the demand for a separate state led to disastrous consequences.

Movements of the Depressed Classes

You have read before about the reform movements which arose in the 19th century. One of the major objectives of these reform movements was the uplift of the so-called lower castes among the Hindus. These movements had played an important role in awakening the people against the oppression of the so-called lower castes, particularly against the shameful practice of untouchability. A number of campaigns were launched in Maharashtra, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and other parts of the country, so that the people belonging to the so-called untouchable castes could enter temples. Some of the leaders of these campaigns were E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker, K. Kelappan and T.K. Madhavan. E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker, popularly known as 'Periyar', later started the Self-Respect Movement. A number of organizations of the people of the Depressed Classes were formed. They played an important role in organizing the people of the Depressed Classes to fight for their rights. The leading figure in the movements of the Depressed Classes was Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. He

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Jagjivan Ram

wrote a number of books, brought out journals and set up institutions to promote the interests of the Depressed Classes. He took part in the Round Table Conferences and pressed for provisions to safeguard the interests of the Depressed Classes.

You have read earlier about the great importance which Gandhiji attached to the eradication of the evil of untouchability. He set up many organizations, including the Anti-Untouchability League, for this purpose. He called the so-called untouchables, 'Harijans', or the people of God, and brought out a journal of the same name. In 1932, the British government announced separate electroates for the so-called untouchable castes, like they had done in the case of Muslims and Sikhs. The nationalist leaders opposed this as they suspected that this was a part of the British policy of 'divide and rule'. Gandhiji, who was in jail at that time, went on fast unto death against this decision. He said, "What I want, and what I am living for, and what I should delight in dying for, is the eradication of untouchability, root and branch". Separate electorates for Harijans, he thought, would harm the cause of reform. Finally, an agreement was reached by which the decision to introduce separate electorates was withdrawn. At the same time, it was ensured that the people of the so-called untouchable castes would get adequate representation.

The nationalist movement as a whole and the organizations of the Depressed Classes continued to work for the emancipation of these oppressed sections of Indian society. It also became increasingly clear that the social oppression of the Depressed Classes was clearly linked with their economic misery. Therefore, their economic uplift was crucial to free them from social oppression. Special provisions to promote their well-being were also considered essential. **Babu Jagjivan Ram played an important role in organising the depressed classes.**

Indian Nationalist Movement and the World

As you have seen before, the nationalist movement drew inspiration from events and ideas in the world at large. Many people in other countries, including Britain, supported the cause of Indian independence.

V.K. Krishna Menon

Organisations were formed in other countries by Indians with the help of the local people. Dadabhai Naoroji had formed an organisation in England late in the 19th century, with the help of many enlightened Englishmen to get support for Indian people's demands. Later on, Indian Leagues were formed in Britain, the U.S.A. and other countries. Many labour and socialist leaders and thinkers were closely connected with the Indian League in Britain. V.K. Krishna Menon played a leading role in winning the support of the British people for the cause of India's freedom. Similarly, many trade union and socialist leaders had come to India to help in the organization of labour and socialist movement.

A major feature of the Indian nationalist movement was that while fighting for independence, it did not create any hatred against other countries including against the people of Britain. The Indian people also were aware that the policies pursued by the British rulers in India were also not in the interests of the common people of Britain. They had learned to differentiate between the rulers and the people. While they fought against the rulers, they did not have any hatred for the common people of Britain, whose support they tried to get in their struggle for independence. The Indian people saw their own struggle as a part of the struggle of the people everywhere for independence, democracy and social equality. They, therefore, took an active interest in the developments taking place in the world, particularly those relating to the struggles for independence in other countries, the struggles against oppression and for democracy. They developed an internationalist outlook.

Jawaharlal Nehru played a leading role in the development of the internationalist outlook among the Indian people. The cause of freedom and democracy in other countries was as dear to him as the cause of India's independence. He made the Indian people aware of the developments in the world and helped in forging links with the people fighting for freedom and democracy in other countries. He said that freedom was indivisible, that is, no nation's freedom could be secure unless every nation was free. Similarly, democracy and prosperity were indivisible. So was peace. The nationalist movement established links with the struggle of other peoples. In 1927, the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities was held in Brussels (Belgium). Jawaharlal Nehru attended this Congress. An international organization called the League Against Imperialism was formed, which campaigned for the abolition of imperialist rule in other countries. Men and women of many countries were associated with this League. They included scientists like Albert Einstein and Joliot-Curie and writers such as Maxim Gorky and Romain Rolland. The Congress was affiliated to this League.

Japan, which had become an imperialist power, invaded China in 1931. The Indian nationalists extended their support to the Chinese people against Japanese invaders. They called for the boycott of Japanese goods. Later, a team of Indian doctors went to China and worked to relieve the sufferings of the people. One of the Indian doctors, Dr. D.V. Kotnis, died in China.

After the First World War, a violent movement, *which was openly opposed to the ideas of democracy and human equality and advocated war*, emerged in some countries of Europe. This is known as the fascist movement. In Italy and Germany, fascist governments were formed. These governments let loose a reign of terror against their own people and destroyed even the basic liberties of the people. They preached hatred against other peoples and said that they had a right to rule over them. Hitler, who had come to power in Germany, started the extermination of Jews. Germany and Italy were joined by Japan in planning wars of conquest against other peoples. The fascists of Spain revolted against the democratic government of Spain and were

Jawaharlal Nehru with Krishna Menon talking to the Spanish Republican leaders during the Spanish Civil War actively supported by Italy and Germany. This had aroused the indignation of the people all over the world. The Indian nationalist leaders were aware of the danger that fascism posed to the freedom of other countries and to peace. They supported the people of Spain who were fighting to defend themselves against fascism. People of many countries volunteered to fight the fascist forces in Spain, and formed the International Brigade. Jawaharlal Nehru along with V.K. Krishna Menon went to Spain and extended the support of the Indian people to the people of Spain.

The imperialist countries of the West encouraged the fascist countries in their aggressive policies. They hoped that these countries would destroy Russia and Communism. Italy had started the invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia). Hitler occupied Czechoslovakia with the connivance of other Western countries. Jawaharlal Nehru and the nationalist movement condemned the attitude of the western countries. Nehru refused to meet Mussolini, the dictator of Italy, when the latter expressed a desire to meet him. The Indian nationalist leaders also supported the struggle of the people of Palestine for freedom. The cause of freedom and democracy everywhere in the world had become dear to the Indian people. Long before the Second World War broke out, the Congress warned the people against the growing danger of war. It declared that the ending of both fascism and imperialism was essential for peace and progress in the world. When India became independent, she gave powerful support to the freedom movements of other countries and it became a basic feature of the foreign policy of independent India.

The Act of 1935 and the Nationalist Movement

You have read before that three Round Table Conferences were held in England to discuss changes in the structure of the government. The Congress participated only in the Second Conference. The Congress, as you know, had declared that only the Indian people were competent to decide as to what kind of constitution would be framed for the government of the country. For this, it had demanded the convening of a Constituent Assembly elected by the Indian people, each Indian adult enjoying the right to vote.

The British government, however, ignored this demand and in August 1935 announced the Government of India Act. According to this Act, India would become a federation if 50 per cent of Indian States decided to join it. They would then have a large number of representatives in the two houses of the central legislature. However, the provisions with regards to the federation were not implemented. The Act made no reference even to granting Dominion Status, much less independence, to India.

With regard to the provinces, the Act of 1935 was an improvement on the existing position. It introduced what is known as provincial autonomy. The ministers of the provincial governments, according to it, were to be responsible to the legislature. The powers of the legislature were increased. However, in certain matters like the police, the government had the authority. The right to vote also remained limited. Only about 14 per cent of the population got the right to vote. The appointment of the Governor-General and Governors, of course, remained in the hands of the British Government and they were not responsible to the legislatures. The Act never came near the objective that the nationalist movement had been struggling for.

At its 1936 session, held at Lucknow, under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress rejected the Act of 1935. It repeated the demand for a Constituent Assembly. However, it decided to participate in the elections to the provincial legistative assemblies that were held in 1937. It also declared that it would seek to end the Act. The Congress prepared its election manifesto which said that poverty and unemployment were the major problems of India. The election became an important occasion to mobilize the people on important political, economic and social issues.

The Muslim League, as has been mentioned earlier, claimed to be the sole representative of the Muslims in India. The Congress was an organisation of all Indians irrespective of their different religions. Many of its most prominent leaders were Muslims. You have already read about the system of separate electorates for Muslims and, later, for Sikhs. It had been condemned as a deliberate policy of the British government to create disunity among the Indian people. It had succeeded to some extent in creating communal feelings among the people. However, in spite of all the encouragement that the British rulers gave them, the communal parties failed to make much headway. This became clear in the elections that were held in 1937.

The Congress swept the polls.

In six provinces, it won an absolute majority of seats. In three others, it was the single largest party. The Muslim League which claimed to represent all the Muslims secured less than a quarter of the seats reserved for Muslims. In the North-West Frontier Province, where the nationalist movement had been growing under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Muslim League did not win a single seat. The Hindu communal parties were also defeated. The result of the elections showed that the parties based on religion did not have much influence.

The Congress held a special convention in Delhi. Every Congressman who was elected took the following pledge: "I ..... pledge myself to the service of India and to work in the Legislature and outside for the Independence of India and ending the exploitation and poverty of her people."

The Congress formed its ministries in seven out of 11 provinces. In two more provinces it formed governments with the help of other parties. Only in two provinces, there were non-Congress ministries. These ministries did some useful work in the field of education, and also improved the lot of the peasants. They released people who had been imprisoned for participating in the struggle for freedom. The bans on newspapers which were there for a long time were also lifted. These ministries influenced the people in the Indian States. The people suffering under the autocratic rule of the Princes saw that the governments of so many provinces in India were being run by the representatives of the people.

Many nationalist leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose had been opposed to the formation of ministries by the Congress. The influence of the workers' and peasants' organisations had grown in the country. The Congress Socialist Party, under leaders like Acharya Narendra Dev, had become a strong force. The influence of the Communist Party had also grown. Thus the influence of people who did not want to compromise with the British government had grown. They wanted complete independence and were in favour of launching a movement to achieve it. Some of the moderates in the Congress were, however, not in favour of launching the movement immediately. Subhas Chandra Bose, who had become Congress President in 1938, again contested for the presidentship of the Congress in 1939 against a moderate candidate, and was elected. However, he resigned from the presidentship of the Congress soon after and, later, joined the Forward Bloc.

Within a few months of these developments, big changes took place in the world situation. These changes had an immediate impact on India, and the struggle for freedom entered its last phase.

EXERCISES

I. Answer the following questions.

1. What were the main activities of the Congress immediately after the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation movement ? Also mention the names of some prominent nationalist leaders of that time.
2. What was the Simon Commission ? Why did the Indian people oppose it ?
3. What is the importance of the Congress session held at Lahore in 1929 in the history of the struggle for freedom ?
4. What do you understand by Dandi March ?
5. Why was the Civil Disobedience Movement launched ?
6. What were the Round Table Conferences and what was the attitude of the Congress towards them ?
7. What were the main decisions taken at the Karachi session of the Congress ?
8. What were the activities of the revolutionaries ? Give the names of at least four revolutionaries who were active after 1922.
9. How did the ideas of socialism spread in India ? What was their impact on the movement for freedom ?
10. What was the role of the communal parties in the struggle for independence ?
11. What was the attitude of the nationalist movement in India towards other peoples' struggles for freedom and democracy ? Give two examples.
12. What were the main features of the Government of India Act of 1935 ? What was the attitude of the Congress towards it ?
13. What is meant by the States People's Movement ? What was the attitude of the Congress towards it ?

II. In column' A' are given some events and in column'B' some dates. Match the two columns.

'A'	'B'
1. Muslim League demands the creation of Pakistan.	1929

2. Congress passes resolution demanding Complete Independence.	1937
3. British government appoints the Simon Commission.	1940
4. The nationalist movement decided to celebrate 26 January from this year as the Independence Day	1927
5. The Congress forms ministries in provinces.	1930

III. Things to Do

1. Prepare a time-line showing important dates and events in the history of the freedom movement from 1923 to 1939.
2. Write an essay each on the life and work of Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. For this purpose you may read their biographies and some of their writings and speeches.
3. Collect the texts of the Purna Swaraj resolution and the Pledge of Independence for display in the classroom.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Achievement of Independence

Second World War and the Nationalist Movement

THE AGGRESSIVE and expansionist policies of the fascist countries led to the outbreak of the Second World War, which started in September 1939 when Hitler's armies invaded Poland. With this the most widespread and brutal war in the history of mankind broke out.

With the outbreak of hostilities, the British government made India a party to the War without consulting the Indian people. As you have already seen, the Indian nationalists were aware of the dangers of fascism and had extended their support to the peoples of China, Spain, Ethiopia and other countries who had suffered at the hands of fascist powers. They had warned the people about the growing danger of war and had declared that the ending of both fascism and imperialism was necessary for peace and progress in the world. The Indian nationalist movement had also condemned the attitude of the western imperialist countries towards fascism. These countries were not concerned with the aggression by fascist countries like Germany and Italy. Their hatred of communism had blinded them to the danger of fascism which threatened their own independence. When the war broke out, the Indian nationalist movement condemned the fascist countries. Even though the fascist countries were fighting against Britain which ruled over the Indian people, the Indian people knew that the fascist countries could not be their friends either. They were aware that no country's independence could be secure if the fascist countries were victorious. However, Britain had enslaved the Indian people and had dragged India into the War without consulting them. The Congress demanded that a national government should be immediately formed and that Britain should promise that India would become independent as soon as the War was over. However, the British government refused to meet this demand. It was clear that Britian was fighting the War for her own imperialist ends. The Congress ministries that had been formed in the provinces resigned in November 1939. There were strikes and demonstrations in different parts of the country against the dragging of India into the War.

In March 1940, the Congress held its session at Ramgarh. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad became the President of the Congress. The Congress demanded complete independence and decided that it would launch the civil disobedience movement to press it. In October 1940, the Congress launched the Individual Satyagraha movement. The satyagrahis, selected by the Congress, would individually come to a public place and make a speech opposing the war and would be arrested. The first satyagrahi chosen for this movement was Vinoba Bhave. Within a short period, about 25,000 satyagrahis were arrested and jailed. They included most of the prominent leaders of the Congress. Among them were Shrikrishna Sinha and C. Rajagopalachari, who had been Premiers (as the chief ministers of provinces were called those days) of Bihar and Madras respectively, Mian Iftikhar-ud-din, President of Punjab Congress, N.V. Gadgil, President of Maharashtra Congress, Sarojini Naidu, G.V. Mavalankar Aruna Asaf Ali, and Satyawati.

In the meantime, important changes were taking place in the world. In June 1941, Germany attacked the U.S.S.R., and in December 1941, Japan attacked the naval base of the United States at Pearl Harbour. With this, these two countries were also drawn into the War. The aims of the countries fighting against fascist countries were now clearly stated. They expressed their support to the independence of all nations and to the right of all peoples to choose for themselves the form of government under which they would live. The War thus became a great struggle for the independence of all nations and for democracy. But the British government declared that the principles of self-determination did

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad with Gandhiji

not apply to India. Indian nationalist leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Abul Kalam Azad, who condemned fascism as the enemy of humanity, said that the Indian people would join the fight against fascism once they were in control of the government of their country. However, the British government refused to promise independence even after the end of the War

In early 1942, the War situation compelled the British to open talks with the Indian leaders. The British forces had suffered heavy defeats at the hands of the Japanese army in many countries of South-East Asia. The Japanese also conducted air raids on some parts of India. At this time Sir Stafford Cripps, a British Minister, came to India to hold talks with

A tram car which was burnt down

Karnataka and Balasore and Talcher in Orissa, were free from the British rule and the people there formed their own governments. Revolutionary activities organized by Jai Prakash Narayan, Aruna Asaf Ali, S.M. Joshi, Ram Manohar Lohia and others continued almost throughout the period of the war.

The War years were a period of terrible suffering for the people of India. Besides the misery caused by the repression by British army and police, there was a terrible famine in Bengal in which about 30 lakh people died. The government showed little interest in providing relief to the starving people.

Azad Hind Fauj

An important development in the struggle for freedom during the Second World War was the formation and activities of the Azad Hind Fauj, also known as the Indian National Army, or INA, Rash Behari Bose, an Indian

Victims of police firings

Srish Kumar, a young martyr of the Quit India Movement

Rash Behari Bose

revolutionary who had escaped from India and had been living in Japan for many years, set up the Indian Independence League with the support of Indians living in the countries of South-East Asia. Thousands of Indian soldiers of the British army had been taken prisoner by Japan. When Japan defeated the British armies and occupied almost all the countries of South-East Asia, the League formed the Indian National Army from among the Indian prisoners of war with the aim of liberating India from the British rule. General Mohan Singh, who had been an officer in the British Indian Army, played an important role in organizing this army. In the meantime, Subhas Chandra Bose had escaped from India in 1941 and gone to Germany to work for India's independence. In 1943, he came to Singapore to lead the Indian Independence League and rebuild the Indian National Army (Azad Hind Fauj) to make it an effective instrument for the freedom of India. The Azad Hind Fauj comprised of about 45,000 soldiers, among whom were Indian prisoners of war as well as Indians who were settled in various countries of South-East Asia.

On 21 October 1943, Subhas Chandra Bose, who was now popularly known as Netaji, proclaimed the formation of the Provisional Government of Independent India (Azad Hind) in Singapore. Netaji went to the Andamans which had been occupied by the Japanese and hoisted there the flag of India. In early 1944, three units of the Azad Hind Fauj (INA) took part in the attack on the north-eastern parts of India to oust the British from India. Some soldiers of the INA entered Indian territory. According to Shah Nawaz Khan, one of the

Subhas Chandra Bose being taken in a procession in Madras in 1940

most prominent officers of the Azad Hind Fauj, the soldiers who had entered India laid themselves flat on the ground and passionately kissed the sacred soil of their motherland. However, the attempt to liberate India by the Azad Hind Fauj failed.

You have read before that Japan herself had become an imperialist country and had joined Germany and Italy in their wars of conquest. The Indian nationalist movement did not view the Japanese government as a friend of India. Its sympathies were with the people of those countries which had fallen victims to Japan's aggression. Netaji, however, believed that with the help of the Azad Hind Fauj, supported by Japan, and a revolt inside India, the British rule over India could be ended. The Azad Hind Fauj, with the slogan of 'Delhi Chalo' and the salutation 'Jai Hind', was a source of inspiration to Indians, inside and outside the country. Netaji rallied together the Indians of all religions and regions, living in South-East Asia, for the cause of India's freedom. Indian women also played an important role in the activities for the freedom of India. A women's regiment of Azad Hind Fauj was formed, which was under the command of Captain Lakshmi Swaminathan. It was called the Rani Jhansi Regiment. The Azad Hind Fauj became the symbol of unity and heroism to the people of India. Netaji, who had been one of the greatest leaders of India's struggle for freedom, was reported killed in an air crash a few days after Japan had surrendered.

The Second World War ended in 1945 with the defeat of the fascist Germany and Italy. Millions of people were killed in the War. When the war was nearing its end and Italy and Germany had already been defeated, the U.S.A. dropped atom bombs on two cities of Japan—Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Within a few moments, these cities were burnt to the ground and over 200,000 people were killed. Japan surrendered soon after this. Though the use of the atom bombs brought the war to a close, it led to new tensions in the world and to a new competition for making more and more deadly weapons which might destroy all mankind.

Nationalist Upsurge After the War

The end of the Second World War marked a new era in the history of the world. The political scene had changed. Britain, which had been a great empire, was reduced to the position of a second rate power. The USSR emerged as one of the two great powers in the world, the other being the U.S.A. The War had been fought in the name of freedom and democracy. Its end brought about a new political atmosphere in the world. Many countries in eastern Europe became socialist. The international position of all imperialist countries was weakened. There was a widespread political struggle all over Asia and Africa for independence. It was no longer possible to suppress movements for independence. Thus, as a result of the War, fascism was destroyed and the old imperialist countries suffered a setback. In Britain, the Labour Party came to power. There were many people in the Labour Party who sympathised with the Indian people's struggle for independence.

There was a new wave of the political struggle in India against the British rule. The British government put three officers of the INA on trial at Red Fort in Delhi for the 'crime' of fighting against the British forces. They were Shah Nawaz Khan, P.K. Sehgal and G.S. Dhillon. There were strikes and demonstrations all over the country against the trial. The three officers were convicted but their sentences were remitted. Students played a very important role in

Shah Nawaz Khan

G.S. Dhillon

organizing protests against the trial of the INA officers. Demonstrations, strikes and *hartals* to end the British rule continued. People plunged themselves into the last battle for freedom. There was disaffection in the armed forces also. In February 1946, the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy revolted at many places. They were joined by workers and others. In the clashes that took place between the naval ratings and their supporters on the one hand, and the British troops

Kailash Nath Katju, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Jawaharlal Nehru on their way to the court to defend the INA officers

INA WEEK RALLY AT CALCUTTA

A massive public meeting in Calcutta to protest against the trial of INA officers

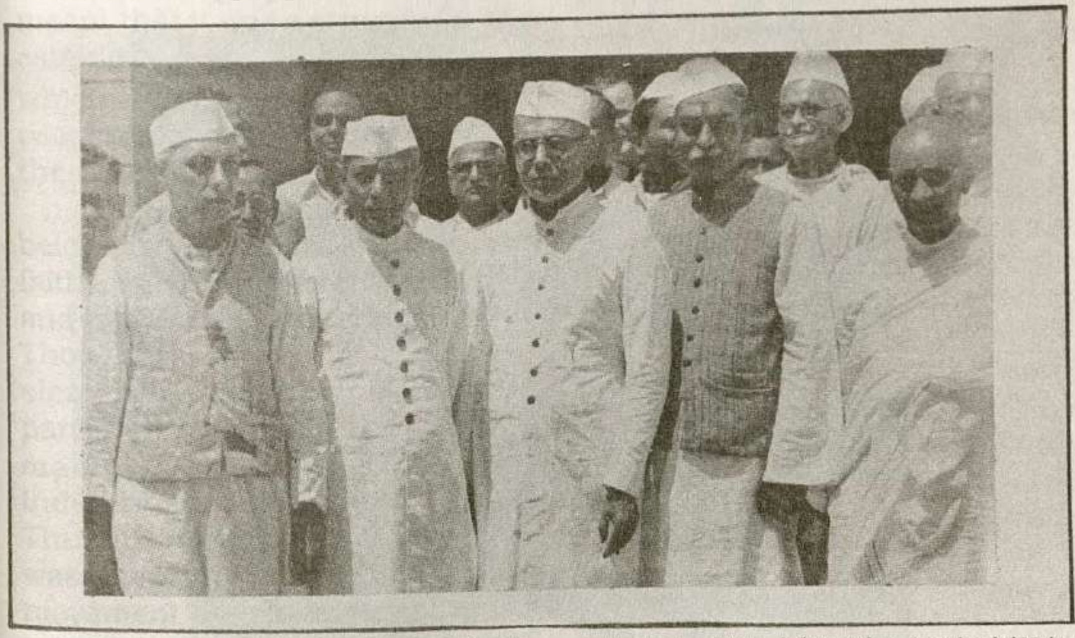
Ratings of the Royal Indian Navy being taken in a police van

and police on the other, about 300 people were killed in Bombay. With the growing popular upsurge against the British rule and the spread of discontent in the armed forces, it became clear that the days of the British rule were coming to an end. The British rulers realised that it was no longer possible to hold the Indian people in subjugation.

Coming of Independence

The British government announced in 1946 that they were willing to end their rule over India. A Cabinet Mission was sent to India to hold negotiations with Indian leaders on the transfer of power. It proposed the formation of an interim government and the convening of a Constituent Assembly composed of members elected by Provincial Legislatures and the nominees of the rulers of Indian States. An interim government, headed by Jawaharlal Nehru, was formed. The Muslim League and the Princes refused to participate in the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly which started its work of framing the constitution in December 1946.

The Muslim League pressed its demand for a separate State of Pakistan. Lord Mountbatten, who came to India in March 1947 as the new Viceroy, presented a plan for the division of India into two independent States—India and Pakistan. In 1946, there had been riots in Bengal, Bihar, Bombay and other places in which thousands of Hindus and Muslims were killed. The announcement of partition was followed by more riots, particularly in the Punjab. In a few months, about 500,000 people, Hindus and Muslims, were killed and millions became homeless. Such wanton killing of innocent people had never occurred in the history of India before. The hatred preached by the communal parties, encouraged by the British rulers, had borne fruit. Most shameless, inhuman acts were perpetrated. Many people of all communities devoted themselves to the cause of restoring sanity. Many became martyrs while trying to save the lives of members of other communities. These events caused terrible anguish to Gandhiji who had devoted his life to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. He toured the



Members of the interim government after they were sworn in— Front, left to right : Jawaharlal Nehru, Asaf Ali, Ali Zaheer, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Vallabhbhai Patel. Sarat Chandra Bose and Jagjivan Ram can be seen behind Vallabhbhai Patel and Dr. Rajendra Prasad riot - ravaged areas and plunged himself entirely into the task of restoring peace and sanity

The Congress, which from the beginning had stood for a united, independent India, agreed to the partition of India. It rejected the two nation theory but it felt that there was no other way to achieve freedom and prevent further worsening of the situation than partition. India became free on 15 August 1947. A separate State of Pakistan comprising West Punjab, East Bengal, Sind and North-West Frontier Province was created. The Indian people, after their century-long struggle, had thrown out the foreign yoke even though it happened in the midst of unimaginable tragedies. Jawaharlal Nehru became the first Prime Minister of free India. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when 15 August dawned India, as Nehru said, awoke to life and freedom

The Constituent Assembly also began to function as the Parliament of Independent India. On 14 August Jawaharlal Nehru in his address to the Assembly outlined the tasks that lay ahead before the Indian people. These were tasks of "ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of

Jawaharlal Nehru being sworn in as the first Prime Minister of Independent India opportunity" He spoke of the pledge of "dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity". He called upon the people "to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell". The Indian people became masters of their own destiny. The task of building a new India began.

India as an Independent Nation

The path that independent India was to follow had developed during the struggle for independence. The struggle had been fought with the aim of making the Indian people sovereign. It meant that it was a struggle for the establishment of democracy in which all power vested in the people as a whole and not in one or the other section.

It had been composed of people belonging to different religious faiths, speaking different languages and practising a variety of customs. Though there had been divisive elements like the communal parties, they had not succeeded in making the movement for independence as a communal one. Thus the nationalist movement was a secular movement, that is, a movement which represented the interests of all communities, and which treated religion as a matter of every citizen's personal belief. Every citizen had a right to his or her religious beliefs and no particular religion enjoyed any special status. Secularism is an organic part of any democratic movement. Democracy means that all citizens are equal and they cannot be equal unless they have the same rights or freedoms—rights of speech or of religious beliefs. Thus, as the nationalist movement had made the establishment of democracy in independent India as its principal aim, it had also given independent India the character of secularism. There could be no discrimination in independent India on the basis of religion and, for the State, religion was a matter of each individual's personal life and beliefs.

The nationalist movement had also put before itself the aim of reconstructing the Indian society so as to establish a just social order. This aim had become clearer with the spread of socialist ideas. To realise this aim, independent India had to struggle hard to abolish the practices that created inequalities in society, to bring about rapid economic development and to prevent the concentration of economic power in a few hands.

The nationalist movement had also evolved a policy on world affairs. It was based on the principle of equality of all people's

It, therefore, meant that independent India would support all peoples fighting for their national independence. It was firm in its belief that freedom is indivisible and that no country's freedom is secure unless every country is free. It had also advocated a policy of peace because only in peace can the work of reconstruction be done and universal brotherhood promoted. The policy of peace was also based on the conviction that there is no conflict of interest among the people of different countries. The policy of freedom and peace thus became the corner-stone of independent India's foreign policy.

Guided by these principles, the people of India started in 1947 on their course as an independent nation.

Immediate Tasks

There were many immediate problems that needed solution. The first was the political unification of India. You have read before about the struggle of the people living in Indian States ruled by Princes. When the end of the British rule came near, the Princes intensified their repression. The repression was particularly brutal in Jammu and Kashmir, Hyderabad, Travancore and some States in Rajasthan. Some Princes planned to become independent rulers. The nationalist movement, with the help of the people of the States, foiled these plans. The States Department, which had been set up under Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, brought about the accession to India of all States lying within India before India became independent. There were three States which had not acceded by 15 August 1947. There were Jammu and Kashmir, Hyder bad and Junagadh.

Sardar Patel with Jawaharlal Nehru. As head of the States Department, Sardar Patel brought about the accession of the Princely States to India

Soon after independence, raiders from Pakistan invaded Kashmir. However, the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir considered themselves a part of the Indian nation. They fought against the Pakistani invaders. The State acceded to India and the Indian army was sent there to throw out the Pakistani invaders. Jammu and Kashmir became a part of India.

The Nawab of Junagadh fled to Pakistan and in February 1948, the people of Junagadh voted in favour of the State acceding to India. The Nizam of Hyderabad had agreed that a government representative of the people would be set up which would take a decision on the question of accession. He took no steps in this direction. On the contrary, he encouraged the activities of an armed gang of religious fanatics to commit atrocities against the people. In September 1948, the Indian troops entered Secunderabad and the Nizam surrendered. Later, the State acceded to India.

Before we conclude this section on India's independence and political unification, it is essential to refer to developments which were a part of the process of independence and unification but which took place much later. These developments relate to the colonial possessions of France and Portugal in India. The existence of these possessions has been mentioned in this book earlier, but nothing has been said about the freedom movements in these areas. These areas were Pondicherry, Karaikal, Yanam, Mahe and Chandernagore under French rule, and Goa, Daman and Diu and Dadra and Nagar Haveli under Portuguese rule. The movement for freedom from foreign rule and unification with the rest of India in these areas also had a long history. But foreign rule in these areas was ended many years after the rest of India had become free.

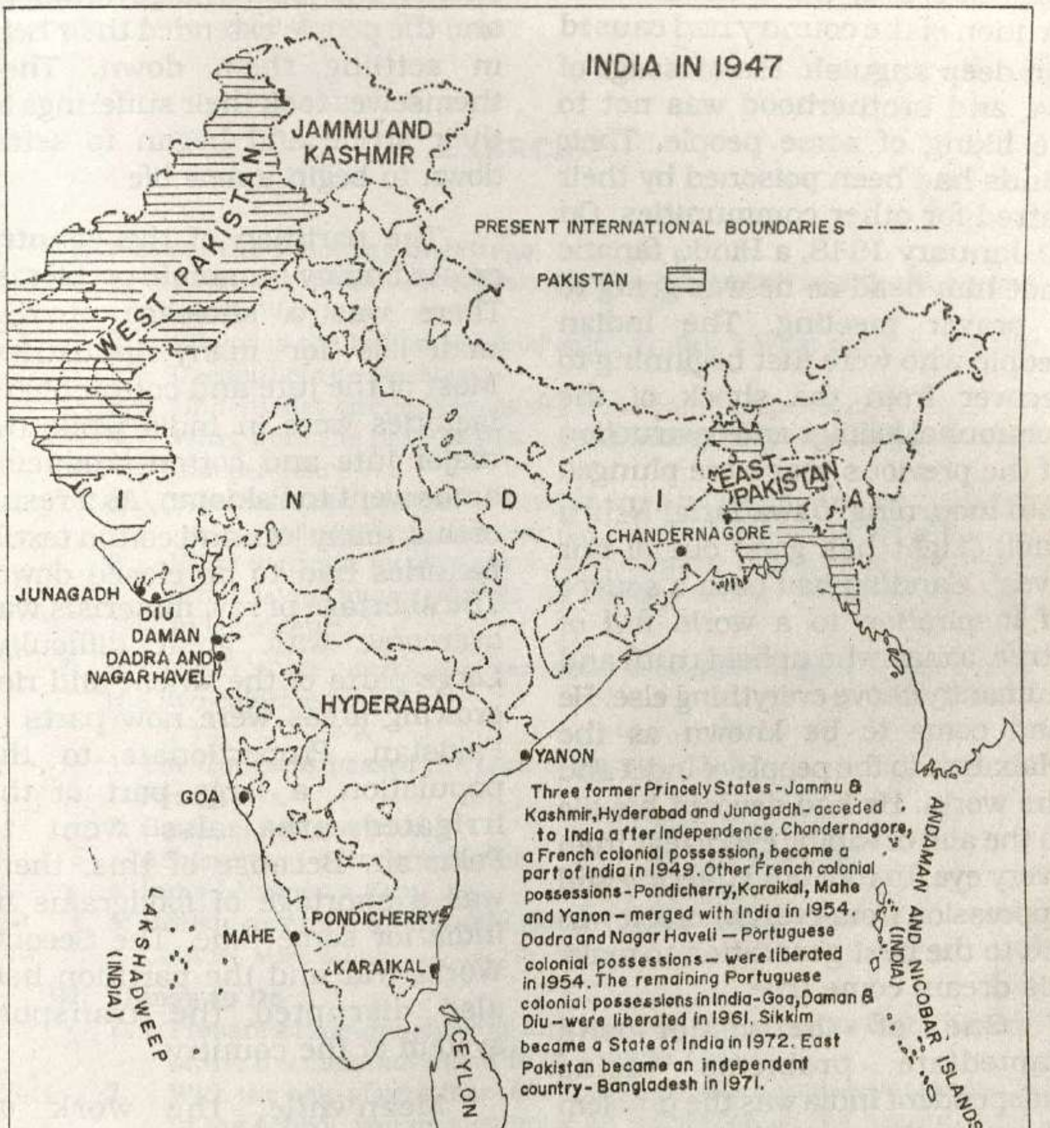
The struggle for freedom in the French colonial possessions, which had started earlier, was intensified after the Second World War. In 1948, there was a revolt in Mahe and the French administration surrendered. In 1949, Chandernagore merged with India. In 1954, representatives of the people in French-controlled territories overwhelmingly voted for merger with India. Following this, the Governments of India and France entered into an agreement under which the French rule came to an end and all the territories which had been under French control merged with India.

The armed resistance to the Portuguese colonies in India began very early and continued in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. The father of the nationalist movement in Goa was Tristao Braganza Cunha, who founded the Goa Congress Comittee in 1928. A large number of freedom fighters of Goa were persecuted and jailed, some of them in Portugal, for long years. Many were sentenced or tortured to

T.B. Cunha

death. In 1954, the freedom fighters liberated Dadra and Nagar Haveli from the Portuguese rule. The Government of India tried for long to persuade the government of Portugal to give up her colonial possessions. Portugal at that time was one of the most backward countries in Europe and was ruled by a dictator. In spite of this, it had the support of many Western countries, particularly Britain. The U.S.A. also supported the foolish claim of Portugal that Goa was one of its Provinces. In 1955, a Satyagraha movement was launched. Unarmed Satyagrahis entered Goa. The Portuguese troops fired at them and killed many of them. Some people in Goa formed armed groups to overthrow the Portuguese,. rule. Finally, Indian troops were sent to Goa in December 1961 and the Portuguese surrendered. Goa became a part of India. With this, the whole of India became independent. It may interest you to know that some years later, the people of Portugal overthrew the dictatorship that had oppressed them for many decades. Soon after this, the new government of Portugal entered into talks with the leaders of freedom movements in the Portuguese colonies in Africa and the Portuguese rule in Africa came to an end.

Within a few months after independence, the Indian people suffered a great tragedy. Gandhiji had played an unparalleled role in awakening the Indian people, and had led them in their struggle for independence for long years. He was the greatest man that modern India had produced and one of the noblest in the history of mankind. It was under his guidance and leadership that India had fought for and achieved independence. That is why he is known as the Father of the Nation. He had devoted his life to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. When the communal riots broke out, he toured the riot-stricken areas with his message of love and brotherhood to restore peace and communal amity. Gandhiji was in a riot-affected area



INDIA IN 1947

PRESENT INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES
PAKISTAN ▤
JAMMU AND KASHMIR
WEST PAKISTAN
EAST PAKISTAN
I N D I A
CHANDERNAGORE
JUNAGADH
DIU
DAMAN
DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI
HYDERABAD
YANON
GOA
PONDICHERRY
MAHE
KARAIKAL
LAKSHADWEEP (INDIA)
ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS (INDIA)
CEYLON

Three former Princely States - Jammu & Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh - acceded to India after Independence. Chandernagore, a French colonial possession, became a part of India in 1949. Other French colonial possessions - Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanon - merged with India in 1954. Dadra and Nagar Haveli — Portuguese colonial possessions — were liberated in 1954. The remaining Portuguese colonial possessions in India - Goa, Daman & Diu - were liberated in 1961. Sikkim became a State of India in 1972. East Pakistan became an independent country - Bangladesh in 1971.

of Calcutta on the day India became independent. The killings of Hindus and Muslims and the partition of the country had caused him deep anguish. His message of love and brotherhood was not to the liking of some people. Their minds had been poisoned by their hatred for other communities. On 30 January 1948, a Hindu fanatic shot him dead as he was going to a prayer meeting. The Indian people who were just beginning to recover from the shock of the communal killings and destruction of the previous year were plunged into mourning. Jawaharlal Nehru said, "Light has gone out of our lives". Gandhiji had been a source of inspiration to a world full of strife, a man who upheld truth and humanity above everything else. He had come to be known as the Mahatma to the people of India and the world. He had devoted his life to the aim of wiping every tear from every eye, to root out suffering and oppression from everywhere. It was left to the next generation to make his dream come true.

One of the major and immediate problems facing independent India was the problem of rehabilitating the refugees. Millions of people had been rendered homeless in areas which had gone to Pakistan. They migrated to India to begin a new life for themselves. They had to be provided with immediate relief, shelter and jobs. The government and the people extended their help in settling them down. They themselves took their sufferings in their stride and began to settle down to begin a new life

The partition of the country created many economic problems. There was a shortage of raw materials for many industries. Most of the jute and cotton textile factories were in India while the major jute and cotton-producing areas went to Pakistan. As a result of this, many jute and cotton textile factories had to be closed down. The shortage of raw materials was overcome with great difficulty. Large parts of the wheat and rice growing areas were now parts of Pakistan. Proportionate to the population, a large part of the irrigated area also went to Pakistan. Because of this, there was a shortage of foodgrains in India for some time. The Second World War and the partition had also disrupted the transport system of the country.

Meanwhile, the work of framing the Constitution for independent India was in progress. The Constituent Assembly completed its work on 26 November 1949. On 26 January 1950 India

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became a Sovereign Democratic Republic and on that date the Constitution framed by the Indian people came into force. The day that had been observed as the Independence Day since 1930, henceforth became the Republic Day.

EXERCISES

I. Answer the following questions.

1. What was the attitude of the nationalist movement towards the Second World War ?
2. Why was the Indian National Army formed ? What did it do for the freedom of the country ?
3. Under what circumstances did India gain independence ?
4. What were the problems facing the Indian people immediately after independence ?
5. What was the position of Pondicherry and Goa during the period of British rule ? When and how did they become independent ?
6. What is meant by the Quit India movement ? When was it started ? What is its importance in the history of the Indian struggle for independence ?

II. In column 'A' are given some events and in column 'B' some dates. Match the two columns.

'A'	'B'
1. The Congress passed the Quit India Resolution.	1946
2. Gandhiji assassinated.	15 August 1947
3. Achievement of Independence	26 January 1950
4. India becomes a Republic.	8 August 1942
5. British government appoints the Cabinet Mission.	30 January 1948

III. Things to Do

1. Prepare a time-line showing important dates and events in the history of the freedom movement from 1939 to 1947.
2. With the help of your teachers, your classmates, and senior students in the school, you may organize an exhibition on the history of the freedom movement. The exhibition may include, among other things, photographs, and drawings of the leaders and of some events, photographs of reports in old newspapers and excerpts of important resolutions.
3. Prepare a map of Independent India.
4. Try to get the full text of Mahatma Gandhi's speech made on 9 August 1942 and prepare a chart of a few quotations of the speech.

BRITISH ESTABLISH CONTROL OVER INDIA
1806
1856

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